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THE
MYTHOLOGY
AND
FABLES
OF THE
ANCIENTS,

Explained from

HISTORY.

By the Abbé *BANIER*,

Member of the ACADEMY of INSCRIPTIONS
and BELLES-LETTRES.

V O L. IV.

Translated from the Original FRENCH.



L O N D O N :

Printed for A. MILLAR, at *Buchanan's-Head*, against
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Containing,

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>I. The History of the <i>Argonauts</i>, and of the famous Conquest of the Golden Fleece; with an Account of the Lives and Adventures of the celebrated Heroes of that Expedition, viz. <i>Hercules, Theseus, Castor and Pollux, Orpheus, &c.</i></p> <p>II. The History of the Hunting of the <i>Calydonian Boar</i>, and of the two <i>Theban Wars</i>, with the Lives and Adventures of the famous Men of that Age. <i>Meleager, Oedipus, Adrastus, Capaneus and Tiresias.</i></p> <p>III. The History of the <i>Trojan War</i>, the true Account of its</p> | <p>Rise, with the History of the principal Leaders both of the <i>Grecian and Trojan Armies</i>, viz. <i>Agamemnon, Achilles, Hector, Diomedes, Ulysses, Antenor, Eneas, Idomeneus, &c.</i></p> <p>IV. An Explanation of some Fables that stand by themselves, viz. of <i>Progne and Philomela, of Narcissus and Echo, of Pyramus and Thisbe, Byblis and Caurus</i>: To all which is added, an Account of the Games of <i>Greece and Rome</i>, their Foundation, their various Kinds, the Motives of their Institution, &c.</p> |
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MYTHO-



MYTHOLOGY and FABLES

Explain'd by

HISTORY.

BOOK III.*

*The History of the Argonauts, and of the Conquest
of the Golden Fleece.*

THE antient History of *Greece* sets before us few Subjects so celebrated as the Conquest of the *Golden Fleece* by the *Argonauts*; but at the same Time there is none that abounds more in Fictions (*a*).

'Tis however connected with the antient History of *Greece*, and cannot be detached from it without overthrowing almost all the Genealogies of those Times; being fully laid open, it serves to give great Light to the Antiquities of the heroic Age; in fine, there are few antient Authors but speak of it; and I was of Opinion, that by drawing together what is dispersed in their Works, I might contribute in some Measure to clear up the History of an Age, the Study whereof is attended with considerable Difficulty.

VOL. IV.

B

Tho'

* This answers to the seventh and last Volume of the Original;
(*a*) I have made several Dissertations on this Subject, which are, or will be printed in the *Memoirs of the Acad. of the Belles Lettres*; and to them I might have referred: But as I have been informed by knowing Persons that Readers were glad to find in this Mythology what they neither had Leisure nor Inclination to gather from other Books, I shall give an Abstract of them here.

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Tho' we have now neither the Poem of the true *Orpheus*, nor that of *Epimenides* of *Crete*, who, according to *Diogenes Laertius*, wrote a Poem upon this Expedition towards the Forty seventh Olympiad, about 600 Years before the Christian Æra, consisting of Six thousand six hundred Verses; nor yet the Work of *Varro*, who, as we learn from *Probus* in his Commentary upon *Virgil's* Georgics, left four Books upon the same Subject; nor lastly, the other Poets, who, according to *Lyllo Gyraldi*, Dial. 4. had wrote upon this Expedition; yet we are not quite destitute of Helps. Among the Historians, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Apollodorus*, *Strabo*, *Trogus Pompeius*, not to mention others, are those who have wrote upon it at greatest Length. I name not here *Herodotus*, because he says only a Word of it by the By; but indirect Proofs taken from that same Author, will be of great Service to me as I go along.

We have still three Poems upon this Expedition; that of *Onomacritus*, which goes under *Orpheus's* Name, and which was composed in the Time of *Pisistratus*, towards the Fifty fifth Olympiad, about 550 Years before the Christian Æra; that of *Apollonius Rhodius*, who lived about the Time of the first *Ptolomys*; and that of *Valerius Flaccus*, who wrote it under the Reign of *Vespasian*, and whose Work being imperfect, ends about the Middle of the eighth Book.

The Bulk of the other Poets make frequent Allusions to this Conquest; *Pindar* especially speaks of it very particularly in his fourth Olympic, and in his third Isthmic. *Homer* indeed says of it but little, but that same little enables us to form a just Idea of it. 'Tis in the twelfth Book of the *Odysses*, where *Circe* foretelling to *Ulysses* the Dangers he should undergo by Sea, mentions to him the floating Rocks which she represents to be in the Straits between *Sicily* and *Italy*, tho' they are in Reality at the Mouth of the *Euxine* Sea, and where she adds, the Ship *Argo* passed. "There never was, says *Circe*, but one Ship that got clear of those devouring Eddies; namely, the celebrated

“ celebrated Ship *Argo*, which returned that Way from
 “ *Colchis* where King *Æetes* reigned, with the Flower
 “ of the *Grecian* Heroes; and they too had been in-
 “ fallibly dashed against the Rocks by the impetuous
 “ Waves, had not *Juno* herself been their Pilot,
 “ and guided them safely through, because she loved
 “ and protected *Jason*.”

These are the Sources whence I have drawn the History of the *Argonautic* Expedition, not neglecting however those of the Moderns, who have explained some Circumstances of it, as *Bochart* and *M. le Clerc*; and 'tis also from the same Sources we must derive the true Idea of this Event, which certainly is neither a grand Mystery, as some Philosophers imagined, nor a mere Voyage of *Greek* Merchants who undertook to traffic upon the eastern Coasts of the *Euxine* Sea, as *M. le Clerc* alledges (1), who has however, by the Lights he has got from the learned *Bochart*, very happily explained some Adventures in this Expedition; far less is it the History of *Abraham*, *Hagar*, and *Sarah*, of *Moses* and *Joshua*, as was undertaken to be proved not long ago by an Author (a), who, upon the System of *F. Thomassin*, *Huetius*, and some other Authors of the last Age, is for reducing most of the ancient Fables to holy Writ, ill interpreted by the Pagans, and particularly the History now in debate to *Abraham's* Peregrinations; as if there were the smallest Degree of Resemblance between the various Transmigrations of that Patriarch, who traversed *Syria* and the neighbouring Provinces, and came at last into *Egypt* still by Land, and the maritime Expedition of the *Argonauts*. By pursuing such Ideas, what may we not compare?

Eusebius (2), of all the Antients, is the one perhaps who gives us the justest Conception of it, when he says this Voyage was a military Expedition, which besides the Purpose of the *Golden Fleece*; or, to speak more accurately, the Recovery of the Effects which

B 2

Phryxus

(1) *Bibl. Univ.* c. 20.

(a) *A Comparison of Fable to Scripture*, Vol. 1.

(2) Upon the 686 Verse of *Dionysius Periegetes*.

4 MYTHOLOGY and FABLES Book III.

Phryxus had carried to *Colchis*, was also undertaken from other Motives ; as that of trafficking upon the Coasts of the *Euxine* Sea, and of settling there some Colonies, for the Security of their Commerce. For that End several Ships and a considerable Number of Men were necessary ; and they had both, as appears from the Settlements made by the two Squires of *Castor* and *Pol-lux*, whereof the one was called the Colony of the *Tyndarides*, the other that of the *Hemiochians*. Some of those Vessels deserted the Ship *Argo*, which was as it were the Admiral to that small Fleet ; others of them were separated by the Winds ; but the Poets, continues this learned Author, speak only of one Ship, and name none but the Leaders in this Expedition.

That I may fully lay open an Event wherein all *Greece* was so much concerned, I shall trace the Matter from its Original.

The Causes of *Atbamas* (1), the Son of *Eolus*, the the Expedition. Grandson of *Hellen*, and Great-grandson of *Deucalion*, was King of *Thebes* in *Beotia*, or only of *Orchomenos*, according to *Pausanias* (2). This Prince had two Wives ; *Ino*, the Daughter of *Cadmus*, whom he divorced some Time after to marry *Nephele*, by whom he had *Phryxus* and *Helle* ; this is the Name which *Sophocles* gives to *Atbamas's* second Wife, whom *Pindar* (3) calls *Demotice* ; and *Pherecides*, *Themisto*. As she was subject to certain Fits of Madness, he was very soon disgusted at her, and took back *Ino*, who bore him two Sons, *Lear-chus* and *Melicerta* (a). *Ino*, who then gained greatly the Ascendant over her Husband, had a mortal Aversion to the Children of her Rival, who, being the eldest, were to succeed their Father, to the Exclusion of hers, so that she sought all Means to destroy them. To accomplish her Purpose the more effectually, she had Recourse to Religion. The City *Thebes* was laid waste by a cruel Famine, whereof she herself is reckoned to have been the Cause, having poisoned

(1) Apollod. l. 1. (2) In Attic. (3) 4 Olymp.

(a) I give the History of *Ino* and her two sons elsewhere

soned the Grain that was sown the preceding Year ; or, if we may believe *Hyginus* (1), having steeped it in boiling Water to burn the Bud. It was usual in public Calamities to have Recourse to Oracles ; the Priests were gained by the Queen, and their Response was, that in order to put a Stop to the Desolation, *Nephele's* Children must be sacrificed to the Gods. These barbarous Sacrifices were not unknown in a Country where *Cadmus* had introduced the religious Worship of the *Phenicians*, who offered the like Sacrifices to *Moloch* with vast Solemnity.

Phryxus, apprized of *Ino's* Design by his Governor, if we may believe *Diodorus Siculus* (2), or by one of the Priests of the Oracle, who, according to *Herodotus*, made him the Discovery, fitted out a Ship secretly ; and having carried off a Part of his Father's Treasures, embarked with his Sister *Helle* to seek a secure Retreat at the Court of *Æetes* his Kinsman, who reigned in *Colchis*. The young *Helle*, oppressed with the Hardships of the Voyage, died by the Way, or, as we learn from *Diodorus* (3), having got up to the Ship's Deck, fell into the Sea, and was drowned. She is thought to have derived her Name to that Part of the *Archipelago*, which from that Adventure has been called the *Hellepont*, or *the Sea of Helle*. As they were then at no great Distance from the Coast, *Phryxus* landed there to bury his Sister, and after performing her Funeral Obsequies, he re-embarked, and arrived happily in *Colchis*, where *Æetes* gave him a kind Reception, and some Time after bestowed upon him his Daughter *Calciope* in Marriage.

Pindar (4) assigns another Motive for *Ino's* Persecutions. This Princess, says he, was in love with *Phryxus*, but finding him insensible to her Passion, she formed a Resolution to destroy him. Be that as it will, *Phryxus's* first Care after his Arrival was to thank the Gods for the happy Success of his Voyage, and he consecrated the Prow of his Ship either to *Neptune*,

B 3

or

(1) L. 1. Fab. 11. (2) L. 4. (3) Loc. cit. (4) 4 Pyth.

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or *Mars*; or, if we rely on the old Scholiast on *Pindar* (1), to *Jupiter Pbryxius*, or *The Preserver*. To embellish this Piece of History, we are told, that a Ram with a golden Fleece, that had Wings, and was even endowed with the Faculty of Speech, had forewarned *Pbryxus* and *Helle* of the bad Designs of their Mother-in-law; or, according to another Tradition, that seeing them near the Altar upon which they were to be sacrificed, the Animal had taken them upon its Back, and carried them off; that *Pbryxus*, upon his Arrival in *Colchis*, had sacrificed this Ram to *Jupiter* (a), and consecrated the Skin of the Animal in his Temple; and that it was this precious Fleece, so much coveted by the *Greeks*, that gave Occasion afterwards to the Expedition of the *Argonauts*. The Poets went even so far as to give the Genealogy of this Ram, and fabled that he was the Son of *Neptune* and *Theopbane*, whom that God, the better to conceal his Intrigue, had transformed into a Sheep, having metamorphosed himself into a Ram.

By way of Explanation of Circumstances so manifestly absurd, the antient Mythologists invented a new Fable, and said the Governor of *Pbryxus* (2) was named *Crios*, the Ram, or *Chrysomallus*, the Golden Fleece: But I believe we had better say simply with *Diodorus Siculus*, *Eusebius*, and the antient Scholiast on *Apollonius*, that the Ship on which *Pbryxus* went aboard was named the Ram, or the Golden Fleece, because it bore the Representation thereof. I add, that this Ship being very light, had flown, as I may say, from *Greece* to *Colchis*, and that *Pbryxus*, according to the Custom of those Times had consecrated the Prow of it to one of the Gods whom I have named. 'Tis even easy

(1) Upon the fourth Pythic.

(a) *Pausanias*, in his *Attics*, says there was to be seen at *Athens* a Picture, where *Pbryxus* was sacrificing the Ram that had carried him to *Colchis*. 'Tis not well known, he adds, to whom he sacrificed it; but we may conjecture that it was to that God whom the *Orchomenians* call *Lapbyfius*; a Word derived από το λαβύσιον, *festinare*, to hasten, and he was the same God with *Jupiter Pbryxius*, whose Denomination has the same Meaning.

(2) *Diod. Paleph.* &c.

easy to see from this Explanation, in what Sense it might have been said that the *Ram* and the *Golden Fleece* was the Son of *Neptune*, because the *Ram* represented the Ship which carried *Phryxus* and *Helle*, and every good Ship might be considered as the Son, or rather the Work of the God of the Sea.

Apollonius Rhodius adds to the Fable now explained, that it was *Nephele* herself, by assuming the Form of a Cloud, had concealed her two Children when ready to be sacrificed, and mounted them upon the Back of the *Ram* with the *Golden Fleece*; but 'tis easy to see that this Fiction is founded only upon the Name of this Princess, which in *Greek* signifies a Cloud.

The first Years of the Marriage of *Phryxus* and *Calciope* were very happy, and he had by her four Sons, *Argos*, *Phrontis*, *Melas*, and *Cylindus* (1); but *Aetes*, who coveted the Treasures of his Son-in-law, put him to Death; and *Calciope*, to save her Children from the bloody Hands of their Grandfather, who undoubtedly would not have spared them, put them secretly a Shipboard to transport them into *Greece*; hoping that *Ino*, of whose Death she had got Intelligence, being no more in the Way to persecute them, *Athamas* would give them a favourable Reception; but they were shipwrecked in an Isle, where, according to *Diodorus Siculus* (2), they waited the Arrival of *Jason*, who carried them back to *Colchis*, and delivered them to their Mother; who, the same Historian adds, in Gratitude for so important a Service, used all possible Means to promote the Success of that Prince's Passion for *Medea* her Sister, as I shall have Occasion afterwards to observe (a).

B 4

During

(1) *Diodorus*. (2) *Lec. cit.*

(a) *Pausanias in Bist. c. 34.* says however, that *Phryxus* returned into *Greece* in *Athamas's* Lifetime, and that he settled upon him his Dominions, which, upon Failure of Issue, he had made over to his Nephews *Coronus* and *Haliartus*; the Sons of *Therianides* and Grandsons of *Sisyphus* his Brother, leaving to them a Portion. According to other Authors, it was not *Phryxus* himself returned to *Greece*, but his Son *Presbon*, whom he had by the Daughter of *Aetes*.

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During that Time, *Pelias* the Relation of *Althamas* by *Eolus*, from whom they were both descended (1), governed a Part of *Thessaly*. This Prince had usurped the Crown from *Eson*, to whom it of Right belonged, and a long Series of Tyranny rendered him the Object of his People's Horror and Dislike (2). For the better Understanding of this History, we are to know that *Tyro*, the Daughter of the celebrated *Salmoneus* (3), having gained *Neptune's* good Graces, that is to say, one of his Priests, had by him *Neleus* and *Pelias*; but as these Sorts of Gallantries did not then mar a Lady's Fortune, she was afterwards married to *Cretheus*, of the Race of the *Eolides*, and had by him three Sons, *Eson*, *Pheres*, and *Amitbaon*. *Cretheus* built in *Thessaly* the City *Iolcus*, which he made the Capital of his Dominions, and at his Death left the Crown to *Eson* the eldest, leaving other Settlements to *Pheres* the Father of *Admetus*, and to *Amitbaon*, without any Regard to *Pelias*, who was none of his. He however, after the Death of *Cretheus*, became very powerful, and dethroned *Eson*, reducing him to a private Station, tho' he durst not banish him from *Iolcos*. In the mean time, to secure the Crown, he no sooner heard that *Alcimedé* the Wife of *Eson* (a), was delivered of a Son, than he sought all Means to destroy him, because the Oracle whom he had consulted after his Usurpation, had foretold him that he was to be dethroned by a Prince of the Race of the *Eolides*. *Eson* and *Alcimedé*, discovering the Tyrant's cruel Purpose, gave out that the young *Diomedes*, this was *Jason's* first Name, was dangerously sick, and in a few Days after spread the News of his Death. His Funerals were even prepared with great Solemnity; but instead of his Interment, his Mother secretly conveyed him to Mount *Pelion*, where *Cbiron*, the wisest and most ingenious Man of his

(1) Apollod. l. 1. (2) Valerius Flaccus, l. 1. (3) Apollod. l. 1.

(a) Tho' the Antients vary a great deal about the Name of *Jason's* Mother, as may be seen in the Commentary of *Meziriac* upon the Epistle of *Hypphile* to *Jason*, yet most of them name her *Alcimedé*.

his Time, took Care of his Education (1). Other Authors say *Pelias* never knew that *Eson* had a Son till he was pretty well grown up, and that he had shipp'd him off in an old Weather-beaten Vessel, in hopes he would perish; but that having been happily preserved, *Cbiron* concealed him in his Cave (a).

This young Prince, about the Age of twenty Years, went to consult the Oracle, who ordered him to dress himself after the Manner of the *Magnesiens*, superadding to that Habit a Leopard's Skin, like that which *Cbiron* wore; to arm himself with two Lances, and to go in that Equipage to the Court of *Iolcos*, all which he punctually put in Execution.

In going from Mount *Pelion* to that City, he had to pass the *Anaurus*, a River unknown to the Geographers, but which is so called by *Apollodorus Rhodius* and *Lucan*. This River, or rather Brook (b) having then overflowed its Banks, *Jason* fortun'd to meet *Juno* in the Form of an old Woman, who offered to carry him over upon her Shoulders. In the Passage the young Prince drop'd one of his Shoes. *Diodorus Siculus*, who relates this Circumstance, says the Oracle which foretold *Pelias* that he was to be dethroned by a Prince of the Race of the *Eolides*, had added, that he was to beware of a Man who should appear before him with one Foot bare, the other shod (c). *Jason* making his public Appearance in *Iolcos*, in the Equipage which the Oracle had prescribed to him, drew the Attention of the whole City. They were astonish'd to see so handsome a Youth, in so extraordinary a Habit. *Pelias* hearing of the Arrival of this Stranger, went him-

(1) Apollod. Valer. Flacc. and especially Pindar, Pyth. 4.

(a) All the Antients are agreed that *Jason* was educated by *Cbiron*, and the Scholiast on *Pindar* even quotes for Proof of it two Verses of *Hesiod*, who expressly says so. That *Centaur* taught him the Sciences which he himself profess'd, especially Medicine, and gave him for that Reason the Name of *Jason*, instead of *Diomedes*, which he had before.

(b) *Valerius Flaccus* names this River *Enipeus*, and *Hyginus*, *Eveus*; but to be sure this is an Error in that Author.

(c) Apollod. 1. 1. Tzetzes upon Lycophr. and the Scholiast upon *Pindar*, Pyth. 4.

himself to the Place where he was; and observing that he had but one Shoe, made no doubt but he was the Person with whom the Oracle had threatned him. However, he dissembled his Surprize, and demanded of the Stranger who he was. *Jason*, without being apprehensive of the Danger there was in declaring the Truth, told him briskly that he was the Son of *Eson*, and recounted to him in what Manner he had been educated in *Cbiron's* Cave: Then addressing himself to the chief of the Assembly, asked them where his Father dwelt, was conducted to his House, there received as his Son, while the Tyrant, who had the Mortification to see how much the People interested themselves in the Prince, durst make no Attempt against him.

Pheres, who reigned in a Part of *Thessaly*, hearing of his Nephew's Arrival, came to *Iolcos*, accompanied with his Son *Admetus*, and sent for *Neleus* and *Amithaon* who were settled in *Messenia*. When the three Brothers were met, they spent five Days in rejoicing; On the sixth in the Morning *Jason* had an Interview with his Father and his Uncles, and they consulted together how to dethrone *Pelias*. After several Overtures, it was agreed that they should go all to his Palace (1); and upon their Arrival, *Jason* addressed his Uncle in a bold courageous Manner, demanded of him the Crown which he had usurped, reproached him with his unjust Procedure, and exhorted him amicably to compromise the Matter; assuring him, that far from coveting his Possessions, however unjustly taken from him, all he demanded was the Crown, and that he consented to leave him all the Wealth he had acquired by it.

Peleas was old, and hated by his People: so bold a Speech struck him to the Heart, and he made no doubt but his Subjects, charmed with *Jason's* fine Address, would support him with all their Might. Perhaps too he might apprehend, for Tyranny is always timorous, that there was already a Party formed against him;

(1) *Pind. loc. cit.*

him ; thus, without daring openly to refuse so reasonable a Proposal, he sought to evade it.

Jason was then in that Time of Life when the Love of Glory is the darling Passion ; and *Pelias* being persuaded that he might remove him from *Iolcos* by setting before him an Opportunity of gratifying his Ambition, told him that the unfortunate *Phryxus*, their common Relation, descended with them from *Eolus*, had been assassinated in *Colchis*, and that his Ghost had appeared to him, charging him to revenge his Death, and to save his Children who were every Day exposed to the insatiable Avarice of the Tyrant, who detained them at his Court. He added, that he was very ready to resign to him a Crown to which he had a legal Title ; but that as a Duty of Religion bound him to the Expedition to *Colchis*, which he was not in a Condition to undertake himself, he hoped he would not refuse to discharge it for him, and give Satisfaction to the injured *Manes* of a Relation who called aloud for Revenge. To make *Jason* relish this Proposal the better, and the more to inflame his Ardour to undertake the Expedition, he told him that *Phryxus*, when he was obliged to abandon *Thebes*, had carried with him a Fleece of great Value, the Conquest whereof would enrich him, and at the same Time crown him with immortal Glory. *Disturbed, as I have been, says Pelias, with frightful Dreams, I sent to consult the Oracle of Apollo, who made Answer, that it was absolutely necessary to appease the Manes of Phryxus, and to bring them back to Greece (a) ; but my Years make so long a Voyage impossible for me. You who are in the Flower of Youth, are in a Condition to undertake it, your Duty engages you to it, Glory calls and invites you ; thereby you shall fulfil an Obligation which I am not able to discharge, and I swear by the Almighty Jove, from whom you and I derive our Original, that you shall no sooner be returned, than I will*

(a) It was a common Opinion of those Times, that the *Manes* of those who died in a foreign Land, were in Exile, and still sought to return to their own Country. The Scholiast on *Pindar*, in Confirmation of this Opinion, cites two Verses from *Homer*.

will establish you in the Possession of the Throne that belongs to you.

This Proposal was highly grateful to *Jason*, who having withdrawn to confer with his Father and Uncles, they resolved unanimously to publish their Design through all *Greece*, to invite the Youth to join with him in so glorious and advantageous an Expedition.

While the Choice of the *Grecian* Youth were assembling in *Thessaly* to accompany *Jason*, a Ship was ordered to be got ready proper for so long a Voyage; this is the famous *Argo*, of which so many Fables have been uttered. As no Body has explained them better than *Bochart* (1), from him I shall partly borrow what I am to say on this Article, after I have delivered what the Antients themselves say of it.

In the first Place there are four Opinions concerning the Name *Argo*, which was given to this Ship. *Apollonius*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Ptolomeus Ephestion* in *Photius*, *Servius*, and some others, will have it to have been derived from *Argus*, who proposed the Plan of it; and then they vary too a good deal with respect to this *Argus*, who certainly cannot be the *Argus* whom *Juno* employed as a Guard to *Io*, whose Time preceded that of the *Argonauts* by eight or nine Generations; for which I refer to *Meziriac* (2), who has very justly remarked, that in *Apollonius Rhodius*, we must read *Argus the Son of Alector*, instead of Son of *Arestor*, who is the Father of the antient *Argus*. *Alector*, a *Thespian* by Birth, lived in the Time of the *Argonauts*, and most of the Antients agree, that it was his Son built the Ship *Argo*, and took Care of it during the whole Voyage: For we ought to reject the Opinion of *Ptolomy Ephestion*, who said, as we are told by *Photius*, that *Hercules* himself had built that Ship, and had given it the Name of *Argo*, from the Name of a Son of *Jason*, whom he loved, since we learn from *Pindar*, and most Authors, that *Jason* himself was but eight and twenty Years of Age, when he undertook this Expedition.

The

(1) Chan. l. 2. c. 12. (2) Upon the Epistle of Hypsipyle to Jason.

The second Opinion is that of *Diodorus Siculus* (1), *Servius* (2), and the Scholiast upon *Euripides* (3), who alledge, that the Name of *Argo*, was given to that Vessel upon Account of its Swiftneſs, the Word ἀργος ſignifying *Swift*.

According to the third Opinion, which is that of *Tzetzes* (4), it was ſo called becauſe it was built at *Argos*, or rather becauſe it was made upon the Model of that of *Danaus* King of *Argos*, which *Germanicus*, in his Commentary upon *Aratus*, alledges to have been named *Argo*. Laſtly, *Cicero* quotes two Verſes, intimating, that this Ship was named *Argo*, merely becauſe it carried the *Greeks*, *Argivos*.

*Argo, quia Achivi in ea delecti viri
Veſti, petebant pellem inauratam arietis.*

Theſe Verſes are from *Ennius* who translated the *Medea* of *Euripides*; though *Euripides* ſays no ſuch Thing.

The ſame Antients vary no leſs about the Quality of the Wood that was uſed in the Conſtruction of this Ship: I ſhall not enter here into any Detail, only obſerve that according to *Euripides* in his *Medea*, and almoſt all the Antients, it was built of the Wood of Mount *Pelion*, whence it had the Epithet given it of Πηλιακ, and in *Latin*, *Peliaca*; and that it was built in a Place of *Magneſia*, which from that Time was ſtilled *Pegaſæ*, from the Word Πηγνύμι, ſignifying among other Things *to build*. The learned Scholiſt on *Apollonius* (5) ſays ſo expreſſly: *Pegaſæ is a Cape of Magneſia, ſo called from the Ship Argos having been built there*. In that Place there was a Temple of *Apollo*; hence that God, in *Heſiod*, has the Name of *Pegaſian* given him (6). There it was alſo that the *Argonauts* embarked, and the particular Spot of Ground where this Imbarkation was made, from that Time got the Name of *Arbeta*, as is poſitively aſſerted by *Strabo* (7), and *Stephanus*, who cites for this Opinion *Hellanicus*.

One Thing not to be omitted is, that in the Conſtruction of this Ship an Oak of the Forest of *Dodona* was

(1) L. 4. (2) Upon the fourth Eclo. of *Virgil*. (3) Trag. of *Med.* (4) Upon *Lyophron*. (5) Upon the fiſt Book of the *Argonaut.* (6) Upon *Hieracius's* Buckler. (7) L. 9.

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was employed, which was put in the Prow, and hence undoubtedly came the Tradition, importing that the Ship *Argo* delivered Oracles, and gave Responses to those who consulted it, as may be seen in *Apollodorus*, in *Apollonius*, *Lycophron*, &c. whence it has the Epithet given it of *Loquax* and *Sacra*. *Valerius Flaccus* places this Oak upon the Stern, and *Appollonius Rhodius* says it served for a Mast.

As for the Form of this Ship, 'tis certain from all the Antients, whose Authorities need not be quoted here, that it was long, and nearly of the Figure of our Gallies, whereas those which the *Greeks* used before were round ; which makes *Pliny* say (1), *Longa nave Jasonem primum navigasse, Philo Stephanus autor est*. Where it is to be remarked by the by, that by long Ships the *Greeks* understood Ships of War, and by the round those which served for Merchants. 'Tis according to this Idea that the Scholiast on *Aristophanes* explains these Words *ναῦς μακρὰς*, long Ships, by *ναῦς πολεμίας*, Ships of War : And this single Remark demolishes the Opinion of *M. le Clerc*, who will have the Expedition of the *Argonauts* to have been only an Enterprize of Merchants, as has been already said at the Beginning of this Chapter. There was even, according to *Clidimus* cited by *Plutarch*, a general Law for all *Greece*, forbidding Merchants to set sail with a Ship containing more than a hundred Persons.

I promised after delivering the Opinions of the Antients about the Ship *Argo*, to give *Bochart's* Sentiments of it, and I shall now fulfil that Promise. The *Greeks*, says this Author, had learned the Art of Navigation from the *Phœnicians*, whom *Cadmus* brought into their Country. The *Phœnicians* made Use of two Sorts of Ships ; the one round, which they called *Gaulis*, and the other long, which were denominated *Arco* ; whence the *Greeks* by changing the *c* into *g*, as of *Cneius* and *Caius* they made *Gneius* and *Gaius*, instead of *Arco* pronounced and wrote *Argo*. *Appollonius* says, this Galley consisted of fifty Oars, and calls it, *πεντηκοντερόν ναῦν* ; thus, continues our learned Author, we may conjecture

(1) L. 7. c. 56.

conjecture that it had twenty-five Oars on each Side, and fifty Cubits in Length. If we rely on *Theocritus*, who mentions it on Occasion of the young *Hylas*, it was even ten Cubits more in Length, having, according to him, thirty Oars on each Side. Consequently, he concludes, it was neither from its Lightness nor Swiftneſs, as the Antients imagined, nor becauſe it was built by *Argus*, whoever he was, nor becauſe it carried the *Greeks* or *Argives*, that this Galley was named *Argo*; but on Account of its long Figure.

The Antients are not agreed as to the Number of thoſe who embarked with *Jaſon*; but the moſt common Opinion is that they were fifty two. Firſt of all they conſidered who ſhould be the Leader in this Enterprize, and though *Hercules*, both by his Character and Exploits, might have diſputed it with any, he was however content to yield the Honour thereof to *Jaſon*, as the one whom this Expedition more nearly concerned, being a near Kiſman of *Phryxus*; beſides that *Pelias* had inveſted him with the Commiſſion. Next they nominated the Pilot of the Ship, and this Truſt was veſted in *Typhis*, who was accounted a Son of *Neptune*, that is, he was a good Sea-Man. As moſt of the other *Argonauts* were celebrated Princes in that Time, I ought as I name them, to give their Characters in a few Words, reſerving the latter Part of this Book for a more particular Account of thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves not only in this but alſo in other Expeditions wherein they were concerned.

Jaſon, as Chief, claims the firſt Place in this Catalogue; but what I have already ſaid, and what I ſhall be obliged to ſay of him afterwards, will make him ſufficiently known. What I am to ſay of *Hercules*, whom I name immediately after *Jaſon*, will only turn upon what relates to this Enterprize, wherein ſome Antients even pretend that he had no Part. All the reſt however agree that he embarked with the *Argonauts*: Some alledging too that he was at firſt nominated their Chief, and that *Jaſon* did not become ſo till
after

after *Hercules* had been left in *Troas* where he landed to go in quest of *Hylas*, as I give Account in the Life of *Hercules*. There are even Authors who will have it that this Heroe did not go the Length of *Asia*, but debarked upon the Coasts of *Thessaly*, in the Gulph of *Magnesia*, where the *Argonauts* stopped to take in fresh Water, and that this Place was from that Time called, *Aphetes*, or the Place of Dereliction; others, on the contrary, that it was in that very Gulph the *Argonauts* embarked, and that *Aphetes* signifies, the Place of Departure.

If *Hercules* went not as far as the Coasts of *Asia*, it was upon another Occasion that he took the City *Troy*, and perhaps, as M. *Freret* observes in a Dissertation of his printed in our Memoirs (1) upon his Return from *Lydia*: But what makes against this Opinion, in the *Trojan* Expedition, this Heroe was accompanied with *Telamon*, on whom he bestowed *Hesione* in Marriage, and it will not be easy to account for it how that Prince could then be upon the Coasts of *Pbrygia*.

Theseus, according to *Plutarch*, also embarked for this Expedition, but this Article is likewise liable to great Difficulty, as I have remarked in speaking of that Prince.

Acastus, the Son of *Pelias* and *Anaxibia*, was of the Number of these Chieftains. He was Cousin-German to *Jason*, and known by the Antients as a celebrated Hunter, very expert at handling the Bow, as *Ovid* remarks: *Faculo que insignis Acastus* (2).

Again, some reckon *Aëtor* among the *Argonauts*; but as there were several Princes of that Name, he whom I take to be the *Argonaut*, must have been the famous *Eurytus*. *Ovid* (3) gives him a Place with his Father in the Battle between the *Centaur*s and the *Lapithæ*, and in the hunting of *Calydon*. These three Events happened near enough to one another, for the same Man to have been concerned in them all, as I shall prove elsewhere.

Aëtorides who is also ranked among the *Argonauts*,
and

and who is designed under this patronymic Name, is *Menæti* the Son of *Ætor* and Father of *Patroclus*.

Admetus, the King of *Thessaly*, whom all the Antients reckon in the Number of the *Argonauts*, was the Son of *Pheres*, and Grandson of *Cretheus*, and consequently *Jason's* Cousin. The Story of the loving *Alcestes* his Spouse is universally known.

Ætalides the Son of *Mercury*, and of *Eupoleme* a Native of *Larissa*, is added by some Authors to the List of the *Argonauts*. 'Tis said of him that he had obtained of his Father *Mercury* two Favours; the one, that whether alive or dead he should always be informed of what was transacted in the World; the other, that he should be one half of his Time among the Living, and the other half among the Dead: A Fable built perhaps upon his having been the Herald of the *Argonauts*, which Office occasioned his being often present, often absent from the Army, and obliged him to be exactly informed of all that passed. He was also by his Mother's Side of the Race of the *Eolides*, since she was the Daughter of *Pisidice* the Sister of *Cretheus*.

Apollodorus is the only one who names *Almenus*, a Person unknown to the other Antients; he means perhaps an Inhabitant of a City situated upon the Coasts of the *Euxine* Sea, which was called *Almené*, who embarked with the *Argonauts*, and is stiled by that Author a Son of *Mars*, which agrees well enough to a *Thracian*: But what is more surprizing, *Apollodorus* is the only one who reckons the celebrated *Amphiaræus* among the *Argonauts*. It is very possible that he was both in the Expedition to *Colchis*, and at the Siege of *Thebes*, where he died, as I shall shew afterwards.

As *Apollodorus* is the sole Author who names *Amphiaræus*, so he is the only one who has omitted *Amphidamas*, an *Arcadian* the Son of *Aleus* and *Cleobule*, and Brother of *Lycurgus* and *Cepheus*, who is in all the other Lists, as also *Amphion*, the Son of *Hyperastus*, a Native of *Pallene* in *Arcadia*, where his Father was King. We must not however confound this *Amphion* with the

King of *Thebes*, who had the same Name, but was dead before this Expedition.

All the Antients, with one accord, mention among the *Argonauts* the Pilot *Typhis*, of the little City *Typha* in the Extremity of *Beotia* upon the Sea-coast, whose Inhabitants were valued for being good Seamen. Some Authors make him the Son of *Phorbas* and *Imané*, and others give him for his Father *Anginus* or *Hagnius*. He died at the Court of *Lycus*, in the Country of the *Ma-riandinians*, and his Place was supplied by the famous *Anceus*, who is reckoned the Son of *Neptune*, because he was an excellent Pilot; his Mother was named *Astipalea*, the Daughter of *Phoenix*. Upon his Return from *Colchis* he applied himself to the Improvement of Agriculture, and took great Care of his Vineyards: As he bore too hard upon his Vine-dressers, and used them ill, he was told by one of them, that he would never drink of the Vine which he was then labouring. The Time of the Vintage being come, he ordered a Goblet to be quickly filled up of the first Juice that could be drawn from the Grape; and fixing his Eye upon him who had made the Prediction upon him, reproached the Man for his Want of Foresight, upon which the Labourer replied, that many Things often intervened between a full Cup and the Time of drinking it. Accordingly, in the very Moment he was bearing the Cup to his Mouth, he was informed that a monstrous Boar was ravaging his Vines: Forthwith he parted with the Cup, flew to his Arms, and in pursuing the Boar received a Wound whereof he died; and this Answer of *Anceus*'s Servant became a Proverb, which *Cato* thus turns into Latin: *Multum interest inter os & offam*; though the Sense of the Words of the Proverb is, *Multa cadunt inter Calicem supremaque labra*. We must not confound this *Anceus* with another of the same Name, whom all the Antients reckon in the Number of the *Argonauts*. He was the Son of *Lycurgus*, King of the *Tegeates* in *Arcadia*, who sent him in his Place into *Colchis*, because he would not part with his Father *Aliceus*, whose Age and Infirmities required his Presence.

Onomacritus speaks also of another *Anceus* of the City *Pleuron* in *Etolia*, whom he names among the *Argonauts*; but the List of this antient Author is the least exact of all; for he inserts into it also one *Ancystheus*, a Person quite unknown, unless we suppose, with some Authors, that he had wrote *Acastus* the Son of *Pelias*, of whom he makes no mention, though he be owned by all the Antients to have been of the Number of the *Argonauts*. He names also one *Areus*; which is an Epithet often used by *Homer*, rather than a proper Name; for it was a common Practice with the antient Poets to give the Name of *Mars*, or Son of *Mars*, to Warriors celebrated by their Exploits.

The same Author takes no Notice of two of the Name of *Argus*, whom all the rest reckon among the *Argonauts*; and as there were many Persons of this Name, 'tis not easy to distinguish them. 'Tis however commonly allowed, that one of these *Argus's* was the same who built the Ship *Argo*. The other *Argonaut* of the same Name was that Son of *Phryxus*, who having suffered Shipwreck in his Return from *Colchis*, as has been said, was driven upon an Island; whence *Jason* brought him back to his Mother with his Brothers.

We know little about one *Armenius*, or *Armenus*, whom some reckon in the Number of those Chiefs who accompanied *Jason*, and alledge, that he was of a City of the same Name, situated between *Pberes* and *Larissa*, whether the Name of the City had been given to the *Argonaut*, or that of the *Argonaut* to the City, whereof perhaps he was the Founder; for all those who embarked with *Jason* were of the best Families in *Greece*.

Apollodorus again stands alone in filling up the List of those Heroes with the Names of *Ascalaphus* and *Almenus*, or rather *Ialmenius*, as he calls him elsewhere; as he is also named by *Homer*, both of them Sons of *Mars*, who had them by the fair *Astioché*.

If *Esculapius* assisted in the Expedition of the *Argonauts*, 'tis surprizing that he is to be found only in *Hyginus's* List: 'Tis true, *Clement* of *Alexandria* names

him also with *Castor* and *Pollux*, upon the Authority of *Apollonius Rhodius*, who, however, in the Passage which he quotes, mentions only the *DioscURI*, without taking any Notice of *Asclepius* or *Esculapius*. As for *Castor* and *Pollux*, there is not any one of the Antients has omitted them (a).

Asterion, though we know little else about him, is however named among the *Argonauts* by some Authors, who say he was the Son of *Cometes* and *Antigone*, the Daughter of *Pharcs*; and as *Pharcs* was the Brother of *Cretheus* the Son of *Eolus*, he was *Jason's* Cousin: *Cometes* too, as well as his Wife, may have been of the Race of the *Eolides*. I am however of Opinion, that we must not confound this *Asterion*, as *Apollodorus* has done, with *Asterius* the Son of *Neleus*, and Brother of *Nestor*, who is also reckoned among the *Argonauts*.

Those who will have it that *Atalanta* embarked with these Captains, are certainly mistaken; for what Probability is there that one young Woman alone would have undertaken this Expedition among all these Heroes?

Several of the Antients have also put down in their List, *Augeas*, or *Argias* the Son of the *Sun*, or rather of *Phorbas* King of *Elis*; this is that *Augeas* whose Stables *Hercules* cleaned, which makes one of that Hero's Labours.

Euphemus is mentioned by *Pausanias* alone, who in speaking of the other *Argonauts* who were present at the Funeral Games celebrated by *Acastus* at his Return from *Colchis*, names some that are very little known to the other Antients; among the rest *Eurybates*, who he says distinguished himself in the Game of the Coit. He was the Son of *Tebeon*, and he it was that cured the Wound which *Oileus* received as he was hunting with *Hercules* the Birds of the *Stymphalic* Lake. *Pausanias* adds next, that *Melanium*, *Neothus*, *Phalareus*, *Argus* and *Ipbiclus*, are the five who seem to have disputed the Prize of the Foot Race. This *Ipbiclus* was the Father of *Protefilaus*, the first that was slain upon the

(a) I shall give their History in a particular Chapter

the Banks of *Troy* when besieged by the *Greeks*; as for the rest, they are not named by the other Antients among the *Argonauts*. According to the same Author, *Iolas* the Companion of *Hercules* in his Labours, won the Prize of the Chariot-race; and as it is probable that none were admitted to those Games but those who had accompanied *Jason*, we may conclude that *Iolas* had left *Hercules*, as the other *Argonauts* had done, and went with them to *Colchis*.

Calais and *Zetbes*, the Sons of *Boreas* and *Orithya*, the Daughter of *Erethbeus* King of *Asbens*, are too famous in this Expedition, to have been omitted; I shall speak of their Adventures in the History of the Expedition which those Heroes made after their Departure from *Greece*.

Cantibus the Son of *Abas*, or according to some Authors, the Son of *Cometes*, and Grandson of *Abas*, who reigned in *Elis*, is also named among these Captains; *Apollonius* says he perished in *Libya*, probably when the Ship *Argo*, in returning from *Colchis*, landed upon the Coasts of *Africa*, as shall be said afterwards. The same Author is singular in reckoning among these Chieftains, *Autolycus*, that celebrated Robber, who was the Son of *Mercury* and *Chione* the Daughter of *Dedalion*; but 'tis probable that he confounded this *Autolycus*, who lived at a very great Distance from the Time of this Expedition, with another Prince of the same Name, who according to other Authors joined the *Argonauts* near the City *Sinope*, with his two Brothers *Deilon* and *Pblagius*. The first was Father to *Ulysses's* Great Grandfather.

I shall only name *Azorus*, a Person unknown to all the Antients but *Hesychius*, who says he was for some Time Pilote to the Ship *Argo*. I ought not even to name *Bupbagus*, tho' reckoned by some among the *Argonauts*: Perhaps 'tis not without Reason that those who have taken him into their List are censured for having made a Person of the Epithet that was given to *Hercules*, because he ate up all the Provisions of the *Argonauts*; which probably was not one of the least

Motives that determined them to leave him in *Troas*.

The brave *Ceneus*, the Son of *Elatus*, so celebrated in the Battle between the *Centaurs* and the *Lapithæ*, is named among *Jason's* Companions by *Hyginus* alone : His Son *Serenus* is also in the Lists given by other Authors, of those who joined in this Expedition. *Cepheus* an *Arcadian*, the Brother of *Lycurgus*, and Son of *Aleus*, is mentioned by all the Antients.

Cius is named by none of those who have written upon the Expedition of the *Argonauts* ; but *Strabo's* Authority seems sufficient to give him a Place among those Heroes. That Author says the City *Prusa* in *Bitlynia*, rebuilt by *Prusias*, was formerly named *Cius*, from the Name of its Founder, who built it upon his Return from *Colchis*.

Clytus and *Ipbitus*, the Sons of *Eurythus* and *Antiope*, come from *Oecbalia*, where their Father reigned ; *Eumedon*, the Son of *Bacchus* and *Ariadne*, and *Chymenus*, the Brother of *Ipbiclus*, and Uncle of *Proteſſſaus*, are found but in a few Authors.

As there were several *Deucalions*, Authors are at a Loss to determine which of them is he whom we find in some Lists of the *Argonauts* : We may however reckon, with a great deal of Probability, that he is either the Son of *Mimos* I. or the Son of *Melampus*, *Jason's* Kinsman by *Eolus*, who had both the Name of *Deucalion*, and lived in the Time of this Expedition.

There is as little Difficulty in determining who that *Ecbion* was, whom all the Antients make to have accompanied *Jason* ; 'tis undoubtedly he who was said to be the Son of *Mercury* and *Antianira*. For the one, who lived in the Time of *Cadmus*, and whose Son was *Pentheus*, cannot be the *Argonaut* now in question. *Ecbion* was a Man of Cunning and Policy, and this is what made him be called a Son of *Mercury* ; accordingly he was employed as a Spy during the Voyage.

Ergymus, another celebrated *Argonaut*, who shared the Piloteship with *Tiphis*, was undoubtedly accounted a Son of *Neptune*, for no other Reason, but because he was expert in Navigation. We are to think the
same

same of *Euphemus*, who was also said to be the Son of *Neptune* and *Macionissa*, and who, after the Death of *Tiphis*, was made Pilote of the Ship *Argo*. All those who have given account of the *Argonauts* make Mention of him; and I shall have Occasion to speak of him afterwards.

In the Number of the *Argonauts* is also reckoned *Pblis*, who communicated his Name to that small Country near *Sicyon*, which is watered by the River *Asopus*, and which was called *Pblissia*: He passed for the Son of *Bacchus*, his Mother was *Arethyrea*, and not *Ctonopbile*, who was rather his Wife, by whom he had a Son named *Androdamas*.

Euryalus, the Son of *Mecistius*, the Grandson of *Talaus*, and Great-grandson of *Amitbaon*, who had for his Father *Cretheus*, is also reckoned among the *Argonauts*. We find this same Prince at the Siege of *Troy*, where *Homer* says he commanded the *Argives* with *Diomedes*.

Eurydamas, the Son of *Iras* and *Demonassa*, is named by *Hyginus* alone, tho' his Brother *Eurytion* is in all the Authors who have spoke of the *Argonauts*. Several Antients have confounded this *Eurytus* with *Eurytion*; but I believe we must distinguish them, and make of the latter a third *Argonaut*, who is omitted by none of those who give account of this Expedition; and as several Authors concur in making *Eurytus* the Son of *Mercury* and *Antianira*, and Brother to that *Ecbion* whom I mentioned a little before, we must conclude from thence that this *Eurytus* is not the same with *Eurytus* the King of *Oecbalia*, whom *Hercules* put to Death, and whose two Sons, *Iphitus* and *Clytus*, were of the Number of the *Argonauts*.

Pesides, an antient Author, cited by *Athenæus*, reckons also in the Number *Glaucus*, without saying any more about him. 'Tis not probable that he means *Glaucus* of the City of *Antbedon*, that celebrated Fisherman mentioned by *Ovid*, who says he was transformed into a Sea-God, and who, according to *Apollonius*, rose up from the Bottom of the Water to let the *Ar-*

gonauts know that Destiny stood in the Way of *Hercules's* Voyage to *Colchis*, and that they had done right to leave him: Thus I reckon he designed *Glaucaus* the Son of *Sisyphus*, the Grandson of *Eolus*, and *Jason's* Kinsman.

Idas, a *Messenian*, and Brother of *Lynceus*, is celebrated among these Captains. He, as well as *Jason*, was descended from *Eolus*, since his Father *Aphareus* was the Son of *Perieres*, whose Grandfather was *Eolus*. *Arane* his Mother, the Daughter of *Oebalus*, gave her Name to a City of *Messenia*.

Idmon is named also by almost all the Antients. As this was a celebrated Soothsayer, he had *Apollo* given him for his Father; but *Hyginus*, upon antient Authorities, asserts that he was the Son of *Abas*, and that *Argos* was his Country. Some of the Antients confound *Idmon* with *Mopsus*, and others distinguish them, Tho' *Idmon* foresaw, by the Principles of Divination, that he was to perish in this Voyage, he embarked however, and actually died either of Sicknefs, according to some, or, according to others, of a Wound which he had received at the hunting of the Boar in the Country of the *Mariandinians*.

Iolaus, the Son of *Ipbicus*, and Nephew of *Hercules*, is named among the *Argonauts* by none but *Hyginus*, and *Ovid* says he assisted at the hunting of *Calypdon*: He might very well have been at both these Exploits. The fabulous Tradition delivered by this last Author, imported that *Hebe* had renewed his Youth at the Request of *Hercules*; which means that this Prince advanced in Years, had recovered all the Vigour of Youth, when he slew *Eurystheus*, who, after *Hercules's* Death, declared War against the *Atbenians*, to oblige them to deliver up to him the *Heraclides*, who had thrown themselves upon their Mercy, to secure them from the Persecutions of this Enemy.

Among the *Argonauts* are also named two *Ipbicus's*, one the Son of *Thestius*, the Brother of *Althea*, *Meleager's* Mother, and the other the Son of *Pbilacus*, and Father of *Proteflaus*. *Valerius Flaccus* is the only

one who reckons in this Number *Ipbis* the Son of *Alektor*; and none but *Hyginus* name *Ixition* of the City of *Corin'th*. *Mankerus* thinks there is a Fault in the Text of that Author, and that we are to read *Cantbus* instead of *Ixition*; this *Cantbus* I have already taken notice of.

If *Laertes*, the Son of *Arcefius*, and Father of *Ulyffes* (a), was among the *Argonauts*, 'tis furprizing that he is mentioned by none but *Apollodorus*. What may be faid in Vindication of this Author, is, that *Laertes* was contemporary with *Jason*, and his Kinsman; and this perhaps is the Reason why he has inferted him in his Lift, where he has omitted *Leodatus*, the Son of *Bias*, the Brother of *Talaus* and *Arcius*, who are all three named among the *Argonauts*.

They have not omitted the celebrated *Lynceus*, the Son of *Aphareus*, and Brother of *Idas*, who must not be confounded with the Son of *Epytus*, who had the same Name. This is that *Lynceus*, who is faid by all the Antients to have been fo quick-fighted, that he faw even into the Bowels of the Earth; a Hyperbole under which is figured a Man skilful in the Search of Metals.

Meleager, the Son of *Oeneus* King of *Calydon*, must have been very young when he fet out for this Expedition with *Tydeus* his Father's Brother, fince he had a Governor given him, *Leodatus* his natural Brother, whom some Authors have alfo reckoned among the *Argonauts*. As all the Antients are agreed that *Meleager* was of the Number of these Heroes, 'tis evident that the famous hunting of the *Calydonian* Boar, and the Death of this Prince, who perished in the Manner known to all the World, are Events posterior to the Conquest of the *Golden Fleece*.

The famous Diviner *Mopfus* is alfo reckoned of the Number by all the Antients, tho' they are divided as to the Place of his Nativity; Some think he was of *Oechalia*,

(a) *Hæmer*, who often speaks of *Laertes* in his *Odyffey*, never infinuates in the leaft that he joined in this Expedition.

Oecbacia, but the most common Opinion makes him a *Thessalian*, of the City of *Titarene*.

I presume we are not to confound this *Mopsus* with another Diviner of the same Name; the first was the Son of *Ampycus* and *Chloris*, whence he got the Name of *Amphyctides*; the second had for his Father *Tiresias*; the first practised Divination during the Voyage to *Colchis* (1); the second signalized himself at the Siege of *Thebes* (2), and both of them were very much honoured after their Death, and had Oracles which were often consulted. That of *Mopsus* the Son of *Tiresias* was in *Cilicia*, and that of the *Argonaut* was in *Africa*, where he died in his Return from *Colchis* (3).

Butes the *Athenian* is mentioned by all the Authors who have spoke of the *Argonauts*. After his Death he was honoured by the *Athenians* as a Heroe, and he had an Altar, according to *Pausanias* (4), in the Temple of *Erechtheus*.

Nauplius, the Son of *Neptune* and *Amyclone*, *Danaus's* Daughter, is also reckoned in all the Lists, as also *Menetius*, who is omitted by none of the Antients; he was the Son of *Actor* and *Egine*, and Father of the famed *Patroclus*.

Neleus the Brother of *Pelias*, who had quitted *Thesaly* to go and settle at *Pylos* in the *Peloponnesus*, came with *Perichlymenes* his Son, to embark with *Jason*: This is the same *Perichlymenes*, who being transformed into an Eagle, was slain by *Hercules*; whence we may conclude, that it was not till after the Expedition of the *Argonauts* this Heroe made an Inroad into the *Peloponnesus*, during which he slew all the Children of *Neleus*, *Nestor* excepted, whom *Valerius Flaccus* (5) also makes to have been at the Conquest of the *Golden Fleece*.

We have none but *Apollodorus* who names *Palemon* the Son of *Etolus*, and Great-grandson of *Eolus* by *Calice* his Grandmother; and *Hyginus* is the only one who

(1) Statius *Thebaid*. l. 3 v. 520. (2) Strabo, l. 14. (3) Amm. Marcell. l. 14. Apuleius, (4) In Attic. (5) L. 1. v. 380.

reckons among the *Argonauts* *Oileus* the Father of *Ajax* who ravished *Cassandra*; but in all the Lists find *Peleus*, the Son of *Æacus*, and Father of *Achilles* as also *Telamon* his Brother.

Menelaus, the Son of *Hipalmus*, *Staphylus*, *Phonax*, *Phalerus*, the Sons of *Alcon* the *Athenian*, are likewise mentioned, tho' the Name of the last is in all the Lists, as none but *Apollodorus* names the rest.

Phylammon, the Son of *Apollo* and *Cibone*, celebrated in *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, is mentioned among the *Argonauts* by none but *Hyginus*, who takes also into Number of those Captains *Philoctetes* the Son of *Philoctetes*, the Companion of *Hercules*, and Heir to his Kingdom, who afterwards joined in the Siege of *Troy*, all be said in the Sequel. The same Author is the only one who reckons among them *Phocus*, Son of the *Lapithæ Ceneus*, of the City *Magnesia*, his Brother *Priapus*, and his Cousin *Polypheemus*, Son of the *Thessalian Elatus*; the Brother of *Ceneus* but what shall we think of one *Thersites*, the Son of the *Sun*, and *Leucothea*, the Daughter of *Æolus* King of *Persia*, whom *Hyginus* names among the *Argonauts*? Shall we say it is an Error in the Text and that we are to read *Phylammon*? But this is joined to a Genealogy which admits not of Corrections. I leave also to *Munichus* the *Thessalian* whom he has inserted in the Catalogue he has taken up from that Author. May he not have taken for an *Argonaut* the Country where most of the Heroes were born? I have not the same Opinion of *Theseus* the Father of the celebrated *Calchas*, who, according to the antient Scholiast on *Apollodorus*, was included by some of the Antients into the Number of the *Argonauts*'s Companions.

We have reserved for the Close of this List, *Theseus* his Friend *Pirithous*, who are named among the *Argonauts*, by none but *Hyginus* and *Apollodorus*; where *Æschylus* *Rhodius* asserts, that they were then both of them confined in Prison, by *Aidoneus* King of *Æthiopia*, upon whose Daughter *Pirithous* had attempted a Rape.

a Rape; and whom other Authors will have not to have yet left *Trezen*. *Plutarch* in the Life of *Theseus*, says indeed, that *Hero* performed this Expedition with the other *Argonauts*; but like an inaccurate Compiler, he plainly contradicts himself, since in the same Life he says, *Theseus* at his first setting out from *Trezen* for *Athens*, where he was acknowledged by his Father, found *Medea* there: Now *Medea* returned not till the Return of the *Argonauts*. The Age I am now speaking of is full of chronological Difficulties, and the Life of *Theseus* makes one of the most considerable of them. Some make him too young at the Time of the Conquest of the *Argonauts*, others again make him too old. If we consider the Genealogies of those Times, *Theseus* would have been even extremely old, if not dead, when the *Argonauts* set out, since *Hypsipyle* was the Daughter of *Thoas*, and *Thoas* the Son of that same *Ariadne*, whom *Theseus* left in the Island of *Naxos*: Accordingly we find in *Apollonius* (1), and *Valerius Flaccus* (2), *Jason* reciting to *Medea* the Story of *Theseus* and *Ariadne*. On the other hand, the Arrival of *Theseus* at *Athens* after his Departure from *Trezen*, is sufficiently marked by *Diodorus* (3), *Plutarch* (4), and *Pausanias*; and according to these Authors he was at that time very young, and in a Virgin's Habit, that he might not be known. These Authors say it was in the Time that *Egeus* his Father was new married to *Medea*, and consequently long after *Jason's* Expedition. Further, we know that this Heroe, younger than his Cousin *Hercules*, lived to the Time of the *Trojan War*. After the Authorities now offered, I am determind upon the whole to believe, that he is not to be reckoned in the Number of the *Argonauts*. There is no less Difficulty as to the Time of the War with the *Centauri*, and of the hunting of *Calymon*; for all the Antients agree, that *Theseus* was present at the Marriage of *Pirithous*, and at the Battle of the *Centauri*; and all inform us also, that he joined in the hunting of the *Calymonian Boar*; Events which border very

(1) *L. 3. v. 996.* (2) *L. 6. v. 90.* (3) *L. 4.* (4) In *Theseo.*

ar upon the Conquest of the *Argonauts*, and the great, I believe, even preceded it. Thus 'tis able for us to extricate ourselves from these ties.

were the Heroes who joined in the Conquest of the *Golden Fleece*, that is, all who were most distinguished in *Greece* at that Time, both for their Valour in Birth, and whereof the most Part were *Jaculations*, because at that Time, almost all *Greece*, a Part of the *Peloponnesus*, was peopled by *Deu-Descendants*, from whom he derived his Ori-

he Art of Navigation was then so little known, they kept generally pretty near the Coasts, and saw they would be obliged often to lose sight of it, they applied to *Chiron* to make up a new year, and to reform the old one; because, according to the old *Kalendar*, where the Ascensions and Positions of the Sun were not marked, the Equinoxes and the Solstices happened in times remote from the Points where they ought to have been fixed: say some Authors, rectified them, and formed a *Kalendar* proper to direct the Princes in their Navigation, which Opinion I have examined in a Chapter of (1).

In all things were in readiness for the Voyage, according to *Apollonius*, before he set sail, offered a solemn Sacrifice to the God the Founder of the Nation, and to all the Divinities whom he thought would succeed his Enterprize. Every one was zealous to carry Stones for erecting the Altar (2), which was covered with Olive-branches. After the ordinary sacrifices, the Priests sprinkled upon the Altar Flour mixed with Honey and Oil, offered up two Oxen to the Gods in Honour of whom the Sacrifice was performed, and invoked their Protection from the Danger of so long a Voyage. *Jupiter*, adds *Apollonius*, the *Pythian* (3), promised by the Voice of Thunder his

his Aid to this heroic Body, who embarked after the Sacrifice.

The *Argonauts* were already in the Ship, when *Ceiron* arrived to take leave of his dear *Jason*; and after having embraced him as well as the other Heroes, gave them proper Directions for their Voyage, and offered up Vows for the happy Success of their Enterprize. He hugged the young *Achilles* in his Arms; a Circumstance which I remark, because it will be of use afterwards to prove the Date of this Expedition.

In fine, the Wind being favourable, they launched out into the Sea, and set sail.

CHAP. I.

The Voyage of the Argonauts to Colchis.

THE Voyage of the *Argonauts*, which furnishes several Adventures, which I shall endeavour to reduce to History, was at first prosperous enough; but a Storm obliged them very soon to put in to the Island of *Lemnos*. The Women in that Island had failed in their respect to *Venus*, and the Goddess in revenge, had infected them with such a bad Smell, that their Husbands had forsaken them; for Slaves whom they had taken from the *Thracians*, with whom they were at War. The *Lemnian Ladies*, exasperated with this signal Contempt, conspired against the Men in the Island, and falling upon them in their Sleep, assassinated all of them who were in *Lemnos*, for the greater Number was not there at that Time, as we shall see afterwards. *Hyppobole* alone spared the Life of her Father *Thoas*, who was the King of the Island. However extraordinary this Fact appears, 'tis however confirmed by the unanimous Testimony of all the Ancients; for their varying in some Circumstances, instead of destroying it, demonstrates on the contrary, that it was generally believed. *Apoliodorus* (1), and after him *Suidas*, alledge that *Venus's* Resentment was owing to the *Lemnian Women* having desisted to offer Sacrifice

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to her, and we know how highly the Gods thought themselves outraged by such Sort of Contempt. The Scholiast on *Euripides* (1), after *Hyginus* (2), says this Goddess was provoked at the abolishing of a Festival, which used to be celebrated in her Honour, which amounts to much the same, and was equally punishable according to the Principles of their Theology. Others in short (a), ascribe the Cause of the Goddess's Wrath to the Adventure of the Net in that Island, the Work of *Vulcan*, who by means thereof discovered to the Gods the Adultery of his Spouse with *Mars*. The learned Scholiast on *Apollonius* (3), says after *Myrtilus* of *Lesbos*, that it was *Medea*, upon the Return of the *Argonauts*, had infected the Women of *Lemnos*; but this Opinion which changes the Time of this Event, is embraced by no other Author.

Since this Adventure is generally attested, in order to reduce it to History, we need but set the Fiction of *Venus's* Wrath aside, and say that those Wives jealous of the Slaves who had been preferred to them, revenged themselves upon them at a Time when part of the Men in the Island were absent and engaged in the *Thracian* War. In this Conjunction the *Argonauts* arriving at *Lemnos*, the married Women run to the Shore to oppose their landing, upon which ensued a Skirmish (4); but our Warriors, whom the Ladies had mistaken for their Husbands, making themselves known, were kindly received by them. They spent two Years in the Island, where they had several Children, who were those *Mynians* I shall have occasion to speak of afterwards. *Hypphile* for her part had two by *Jason*, the one of whom was called *Thoas* after his Grandfather, the other *Euneus*, who commanded the *Lemnians* at the Siege of *Troy*.

From *Lemnos* the *Argonauts* went to *Samothrace*, first to accomplish the Vow which *Orpheus* had made during

(1) Upon the Trag. of *Hecuba*. (2) Ch. 15.

(a) *Lact.* upon the 5th Book of *Statius's Thebaid*. Val. Flacc. l. 2, &c.

(3) Upon the first Book of the *Argonauts*. (4) *Soph. Lemn.*

ing the Storm we have mentioned; and in the second Place, because *Cassor* and *Pollux*, according to *Diodorus Siculus* (1), were desirous to be initiated into the Mysteries that were celebrated in that Island, in order to render the Gods propitious to their Expedition.

As they were at Sea after departing from *Lemnos*, the *Tyrrhenians* gave them a bloody Battle, where all our Heroes were wounded, except *Glaucus*, who disappeared, and was taken into the Number of the Sea-Gods (2). From thence they entered the *Hellepont*, turned towards *Asia*, and landed upon the Coasts of the *Lesser Mysia*, above *Troas*; and there it was that *Hercules*, *Telamon*, and *Hylas* lost them, as shall be more fully said afterwards (3).

From thence the *Argonauts* landed at *Cyzicum*, a City situated at the Foot of Mount *Dindymus*, whereof *Cyzicus* was King. Besides the *Molions* who inhabited his City, *Apollonius Rhodius* (4) says, there were Giants who had each six Arms and six Legs, whom *Juno* had made the Earth produce to be the Death of *Hercules*; that is, some Pyrates who cruized upon their Coasts with six Ships, signified by the Number of their Arms and Legs; or, which comes to the same, some Freebooters who ravaged the Country, as we learn by *Polygnotus*, cited by the ancient Scholiasts; for they gave the Name of Giants to that sort of Banditti, as well as to those who were of an extraordinary Size. The King being apprized by an Oracle of the Arrival of those Strangers, gave them a favourable Reception; and after giving them an Entertainment, and large Presents, he dismissed them; but being driven back in the Night-time, by a contrary Wind, into the same Port, *Cyzicus* hearing a Ship was newly arrived, and apprehending it to be the *Pelafgi* his Enemies, went to attack them, and was slain in the Engagement by *Jason* himself, who to expiate this Bloodshed, tho' involuntary, having first given the Prince a magnificent Funeral, offered a Sacrifice to the Mother of the Gods,

and

(1) L. 5. (2) Pausanias in Athenæus, l. 7. c. 12. (3) See the
of *Hercules*. (4) Loc. cit.

and built her a Temple upon Mount *Dyndimus*, employing therein the Water of a Fountain which the Goddesses, we are told by the Poets, made to spring out of the Earth; that is, setting aside the Marvellous, which the *Argonauts* found in an unknown Spot of Ground. *Clyte*, the Wife of that King, not being able to survive the Death of a Husband whom she fondly loved, hanged herself in Despair, as we read in *Apollonius* and his Scholiast, who had borrowed the Story I have now related from the *Periplus* of *Calisthenes*.

After departing from *Cyzicum*, our Voyagers spent some time in *Bebrycia*, which was the old Name of *Bithynia*, if we may believe *Servius* (1). There reigned *Amycus*, who was wont to challenge in Gauntlet-fight those who arrived in his Dominions, *Pollux* accepted the Challenge; but having learned that Ambuscades were laid for him by the Prince, to take away his Life, he called one of his Companions to his Assistance, and served the King himself with his own Measure. *Theocritus*, in the Idyllium he has composed upon the *Dioscurs* (2), describes this Combat, as also *Valerius Flaccus* (3). *Virgil*, who keeps always Probability in his Eye, speaking of *Butes*, celebrated in the Gauntlet-fight, says he came from the *Bebrycians*, and valued himself on having derived his Original from *Amycus* (4).

After the Death of *Amycus*, the *Argonauts* set out from his Dominions to continue their Voyage; but being driven by Strefs of Weather upon the Coasts of *Tbrace*, they landed at *Salmydeffa*, where reigned *Pbineus* the Son of *Phenix*, a Prince old and blind, who was continually tormented by the Harpies. Some Authors make *Pbineus* to have reigned in *Bithynia*; others in *Arcadia*; but the most common Opinion, and that which *Servius* follows (5), is, that he was King of *Salmydeffa* in *Tbracia*. He married *Cleobule*, accord-

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(1) Upon the 5th of the *Æneid*. v. 373. (2) Idyll. 22.

(3) L. 4. (4) *Æn.* 5. (5) Upon the 210th Verse of the 3d *Æneid*.

ing to the same Author, or *Cleopatra* (1) the Daughter of *Orythia* and *Apollo*, or rather of *Boreas* King of a Part of *Thrace*, and his Neighbour, and had by her two Sons *Plexippus* and *Pandion*; but having afterwards divorced this Princess and married *Idea* the Daughter of *Dardanus* (2), this cruel Step-dame, to get rid of these two Princes, accused them of having offer'd to dishonour her, and the too credulous *Pbineas* put out their Eyes. The Gods, we are told, made use of the Northwind to be the Instrument of their Revenge, and by means thereof struck him blind; which no doubt means, that *Boreas* his Father-in-law retaliated upon him the same Punishment he had inflicted upon his two Sons.

As the Traditions of these antient Histories were never uniform, some Authors will have it, that *Pbineus* was struck blind by *Neptune* (3), for having shewn the *Argonauts* the Way to *Colchis*; others, that it was for having disclosed the Secret of the Gods; which signifies some Piece of Indiscretion that Prince had been guilty of, like that of *Tiresias*. They add further, that he was at the same Time given over to the Persecution of the Harpies. These Monsters, whereof the Poets have said so much, were as *Hesiod* tells us, the Offspring of *Tbaumas* and *Electra*. They were three Sisters, *Celeno*, *Ocipeta*, and *Aello*, who with a Woman's Face, had a Bill and crooked Claws, and a prodigious big Belly (a). They raised a Famine wherever they came, carried off the Provisions from *Pbineus's* Table, poisoned whatever they touched, and predicted future Events.

Pbineus having given a kind Reception to the *Argonauts*, and promised them a Guide (4) to conduct them through the *Cyanean Rocks*, or *Symplegades*, which were then reckoned extremely dangerous to pass, they offered to employ their utmost Efforts to deliver him

(1) Apollon. l. 5. (2) Apollod. (3) Apollod.

(a) Virginei volucrum vultus, fœditissima ventris
Proluvies, uncæque manus, & pallida semper
Ora fame. *Virg. Æn.* l. 3.

(4) *Servius* upon the third *Æneid*.

him from the Persecution of those Monsters, and *Calais* and *Zetbes* the Sons of *Boreas*, who had Wings, pursued them without Intermiſſion as far as the Islands *Plote*, in the *Ionian Sea*; and there it was that they received an Order from the Gods by *Iris*, to give them no further Disturbance, but to return. This return ἐπιστροφή was the Occasion of changing the Name of those Islands, which from that Time were called *Strophades*.

This Fiction undoubtedly conceals some Truth; accordingly great Pains have been taken to find it out. *Palephatus* is of Opinion, that the *Harpies* were *Phibneus*'s own Daughters, who ruined him by their Debauchery. According to *Servius* (1), they were the Furies who incessantly reproached him for his Cruelty towards his Children; and 'tis true that *Virgil* confounds the *Harpies* with those Goddesses (2). *M. le Clerc* (3), takes the *Harpies* for a Swarm of Locusts, which after they had laid waste *Bitynia* and *Paphlagonia*, produced a Famine there; and it must be owned, that his Explication of this Fable is very ingenious. The Word *Arbé*, says he, of which that of *Harpy* is formed, signifies a *Locust*; and as the Northwind rid the Country of them, having driven them as far as the *Ionian Sea*, where they perished, hence it was fabled, that the Sons of *Boreas* had put them to flight. Whatever the Poets, continues he, have said of the *Harpies*, agrees to the Locusts. To raise Famine, is not this to carry off the Food even from the Tables of Kings? To say that they are invulnerable, is undoubtedly true in respect of their prodigious Number; that they were the Dogs of *Jupiter* or *Juno*, that they had the Gift of Prediction, and that *Tartarus* had thrown them out; in fine, that they returned as fast as they were pursued: What else does all this signify? but that this Plague was considered as an Effect of Divine Vengeance, which the Gods had poured forth from the Gulph of Hell, to be a sad Prognostic of Famine

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(1) Ibid. (2) See their History, Vol. III. B. 4. (3) Bibl. Univers. T. 2.

and Desolation, and to make such Havock as was not in the Art of Man to prevent. And what others add of their being the Daughters of *Neptune* and the *Earth*, is agreeable to the ancient Physiology, which taught that all Insects were formed of a Mixture of Earth and Water. We may add further, that the Names given them by the Antients, wonderfully quadrate with this Explanation, since *Occipeta*, signifies *Volatile*; *Celeno*, *Obscurity*, a *Cloud*; and *Aello*, a *Storm*; and is it not their Nature to fly, to obscure the Air, and make greater Havock than the most violent Storms?

However happy these Conjectures are, I cannot give into them: 1st, Because the Scene of this Adventure not having been in *Bithynia*, but in *Thrace*, the Northwind cannot have driven the *Harpies* to the *Strophades*. 2^{dly}, In support of this Explication *Calais* and *Zetbes* can only be considered as allegorical Personages, against the Sentiment of all Antiquity, which takes them for Heroes, the Sons of *Boreas* King of *Thrace*, but confounded sometimes with the Wind of the same Name, and of *Orythia* the Daughter of *Pandion* King of *Athens*. *Phineus* had married their Sister, and 'tis no Wonder that finding their Brother-in-Law in the Condition we have now represented him, they assisted him with all their Might. But who then were those *Harpies*? For my Part, I believe Antiquity designed to figure by those pretended Monsters some turbulent and troublesome Neighbours, or rather some Pirates who made frequent Descents upon *Phineus's* Dominions. As, no doubt, they pillaged the Country and the Towns, they literally carried off the Provisions that were for his Use; and what accounts for their being called *Juno's* Dogs, is, that the Ravages they committed were considered as an Effect of celestial Vengeance. *Calais* and *Zetbes*, with a Ship which *Phineus* equipped, put them to flight, and pursued them to the *Strophades* Isles, where they destroyed them, or put out their Eyes. What *Apollodorus* says (1),
that

(1) L. 2.

that one of the *Harpies* fell into the River *Tygres*, upon the Coasts of the *Peloponnesus*, since called *Harpis*, where she perished, undoubtedly signifies, that one of those Pirates was shipwrecked at the Mouth of that River; and what we are further told, that the other having flown as far as the *Echinades*, turned back, and not being able to bear up any longer, fell into the Sea, signifies that this was the Place where the second Pirate perished.

Diodorus Siculus (1) relates this Adventure, without mentioning the *Harpies*, he who seldom omits the ancient Fables; all he says is, that *Hercules*, who had not yet left the *Argonauts*, not being able to obtain from *Phineus* the Release of the young Princes whom he kept in Prison, put him to Death, and parted his Dominions between them.

After having received from *Phineus* seasonable Directions for the rest of their Voyage, and especially as to the Passage of the *Cyaneæ* or *Symplegades*, the *Argonauts* quitted *Thrace*, and entered into the *Euxine Sea*.

The *Cyaneæ* are two Clusters of Rocks at the Mouth of the *Euxine Sea*, of an irregular Figure, whereof one Part is on the Side of *Asia*, and the other of *Europe*, and which leave between them, according to *Strabo* (2), only a Space of twenty Furlongs; so that the Waves of the Sea, which break against them with a violent Noise, raise a Foam which darkens the Air, and makes that Passage very difficult. As the nearer you approach to an Object, or go further from it, its Extremities seem proportionably to draw nearer, or remove farther; hence the Opinion that those Rocks were moveable when seen at some Distance, and that they drew nearer to one another to swallow up Ships, which made them get the Name of *Symplegades*, which implies that they dashed upon one another (a); and this, *Pliny* tells us, was the Origine of the Fable.

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(1) L. 4. (2) L. 7.

(a) The same Conceptions they had of the Rocks of the Straits of *Seydis*, as shall be said in the History of *Ulysses*.

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Our Voyagers, startled at the Sight of this Frith, let go a Pigeon, which happily flew across it; after which they attempted the Passage themselves. This Pigeon which the Poets speak of, was nothing else but a light Vessel *Phineus* had given them, and whose Pilote was well acquainted with those Straits. Nor is this a mere Conjecture, since *Apollodorus* expressly says, that this Prince, to fortify the *Argonauts*, had given them a Guide. *Homer* will have it, that *Juno* befriended them on that Occasion; which signifies, that the Air, whereof this Goddess was the Symbol, was calm and serene; and as to the additional Circumstances, 1. Of the Pigeon's having lost its Tail, and the Ship *Argo* a Piece of its Stern; this intimates that those two Vessels struck against one of the Rocks, by which the former lost her Rudder. 2. That from that Day *Neptune* fixed those Rocks; as much as to say, that the Passage once well known, there was no longer such Difficulty in attempting it; and from that Time Commerce was free in that Sea. Accordingly, if we may believe *Plutarch*, it was by that Voyage of the *Argonauts* the Commerce of the *Greeks* in the *Euxine* Sea was established, *Jason* having cleared it of the Pirates who infested it.

Our Voyagers, leaving this Pass, turned towards *Asia*, and landed in the Country of the *Mariandinians*, where *Lycus*, who was their King, and a *Greek* by Birth, gave them a favourable Reception; but during their Stay in that Country, they lost two of their Companions; *Idmon* the Son of *Abas*, who died of a Wound from a Boar, and the Pilote *Tiphis*. They gave them a magnificent Funeral; and after substituting *Ancus* in *Tiphis*'s Stead, they reimarked, and a Storm having driven our Heroes upon the Island of *Arcia*, they found there the Children of *Phryxus*, whom *Ætes* their Grandfather was sending into *Greece* to inherit their Father's Estate, and carried them back to *Colchis*, after a sharp Encounter with certain Fowls; which, according to *Apollonius Rhodius* and *Pomponius Mela*, darted deadly Quills at a Distance.

stance ; that is, no doubt, with the Inhabitants of that Island, who pursued them with Showers of Darts. Nothing remarkable befel them from the Island of *Mars*, till they came to *Æea*, the Capital of *Colchis*, the Theater of their great Adventures.

C H A P. II.

What happened to the Argonauts in Colchis.

WHILE *Jason* and his Companions passed the Night in deliberating after what Manner they should present themselves next Day to the King, and what Way they should take to demand the Effects which *Phryxus* had left at his Death. *Æetes*, on his Side, hearing of their Arrival, and of the Motive of their Expedition, and moreover terrified by an unhappy Dream, was contriving Means how to destroy them, or at least their Chief, as the most interested in the Affair. Thus when the *Argonauts* appeared before him, that Prince, upon *Jason's* demanding the *Golden Fleece*, prescribed to him such hard Conditions, that he was hopeful he would either desist from his Purpose, or perish in the Execution. There is nothing in all this but what is natural ; but as the Relation of this Voyage was probably written in that antient Language of *Greece*, which was almost the same with that which *Cadmus* introduced thither, I mean the *Phœnician*, those who came afterwards to read it, finding in it many Expressions which they did not understand, and which offered several Senses, embraced that which appeared the most marvellous ; and upon occasion of an Adventure quite simple, broached Fables no less extraordinary than difficult to be explained. The Poets especially who borrowed from this History the Subject of their Poems, or of their Tragedies, sought to embellish it. The Interposition of the Gods, so common in Works of Antiquity, and Love, those two great Springs, were the Machinery they employed. *Apollonius Rhodius*, and *Onomacritus*, probably after other more antient Poets, for

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the *Argonaut Orpheus* himself had composed a Poem upon this Subject, tell us, that *Juno*, who loved *Jason*, and *Minerva* agreed together that it was necessary to make *Medea* fall in love with *Jason*, not doubting but that she, who was perfectly Mistress of the Art of Incantments, would happily extricate him from the Dangers to which he was going to be exposed. In the mean time *Jason* and *Medea* meet together without the City, near the Temple of *Hecate*, whither both of them had repaired to implore the Assistance of the Goddess; and *Medea*, who was already beginning to conceive a fond Regard for *Jason*, promises him all Manner of Assistance, if he will plight his Faith to her. After mutual Oaths they parted, and *Medea* goes to prepare whatever was necessary for the Preservation of her Paramour; for the King had prescribed, that before he could have the *Golden Fleece*, in quest of which he had come so far, he was first to put under the Yoke two Bulls, a Present from *Vulcan*, which had Feet and Horns of Brass, and vomited Clouds of Fire and Smoke; fasten them to a Plough of Adamant-stone, and make them plough up two Acres of a Field consecrated to *Mars*, which had never been cultivated, there to sow the Teeth of a Dragon, whence armed Men were to spring up, who were all to be exterminated without so much as one of them being left (*a*); lastly, to slay the Monster that waked continually for the Preservation of that sacred *Depositum*, and to execute all these Labours in one Day. *Jason*, secure of *Medea's* Assistance, accepted all, and the next Morning an Assembly is held without the City in the Field of *Mars*. The King on one Side, accompanied with a Multitude of his Subjects, came up to be Spectator of the Combat; on the other, the Leader of the *Argonauts*, with all his Associates, full of Consternation at seeing

(*a*) These, according to some Mythologists, were the Teeth of that Dragon of *Mars's* Fountain, which *Cadmus* had slain, and a Part whereof *Minerva* had given to *Æetes*, to destroy him who should one Day come on purpose to carry off the *Golden Fleece*.

seeing the Danger to which he was going to expose himself. The Bulls are let loose, whose very Sight made the Spectators tremble. *Jason* tames them, puts them under the Yoke, ploughs the Field, sows therein the Teeth of *Mars's* Dragon; and when he sees the Combatants spring up, throws a Stone among them, which puts them into such Fury, that they kill one another; goes next in quest of the Monster that kept the *Golden Fleece*, laid him asleep by means of enchanted Herbs and a prepared Draught, which his Lover had given him, puts him to Death, and carries off the precious Treasure; returns victorious to his Ship, where *Medea* having come to him by Night, he sets sail, and goes off with her.

It might be said, that all these Fables are nothing but the mere Invention of the Poets, who, contrary in that to the Historians, never recount the Facts which are the Foundation of their Poems without Machinery. However, the celebrated *Bochart*, who perfectly understood the Genius of the Eastern Languages, thinks he has found in that of the *Phœnicians* a Key to most of these Fictions; and as no body has succeeded better than he in the Explanation of this Fable, I shall set before the Reader his Thoughts. *Medea*, whom *Jason* had promised to marry, and to carry along with him to *Greece*, at the Solicitation of *Calciopè* her Sister, *Phryxus's* Widow, who saw her Children a Prey to the Avarice of a cruel Tyrant, assisted her Paramour to rob her Father's Treasures, either by giving him a false Key, or in some other Manner, and set sail with him.

This History was written, as has been already said, in *Phœnician*, which the Poets, who came long after, understood not, and 'tis the equivocal Words of that Language that gave Rise to the Fable which I have now recited. For, in that Language the *Syrian* Word *Gaza* (1) signifies literally a *Treasure*: *Saur*, which imports a *Wall*, signifies also a *Bull*, and in that Language, *Brass*, *Iron*, and a *Dragon*, are all expressed by the

(1) *Boch. Phœleg. l. 4. c. 31.*

the Word *Nachas* : Thus, instead of saying that *Jason* had carried off a Treasure, which the King of *Colchis* had in a Place well secured, and which he carefully kept, they fabled, that in order to carry off a *Golden Fleece*, he was put to the Necessity of taming Bulls, slaying a Dragon, and the rest. *Medea's* love to *Jason*, this great Spring, which *Eliau* takes to have been the Invention of *Euripides* in the Tragedy of *Medea*, composed at the Desire of the *Corinthians*, has nothing in it but what is common ; and that Princess, who left her Father and her Country to follow *Jason*, makes it plain, by this Conduct of hers, that she was in love with him, without any Occasion of bringing in *Juno* and *Minerva* in this Intrigue, which was the Work of *Calciopé*, who, to revenge the Death of her Husband, and to save her Children, whom *Æetes* resolved to put to Death upon their Return from *Greece*, whither he had sent them, as I have said, exerted all her Endeavours to promote the Passion which her Sister had conceived for *Jason*. We may further add, that the four young Princes whom he had brought back into *Colchis*, seeing themselves exposed to the Fury of their Grandfather, if the *Greeks* were overcome, assisted them to the utmost of their Power.

The same *Bochart* gives a very happy Explication of the Circumstance of the armed Men who sprung out of the Earth, and killed one another. There must have been, says he, in this History a Phrase consisting nearly of Words that signify, *Jason drew together an Army of Soldiers, armed with Brazen Pikes, ready to fight*, which they explained thus by means of equivocal Words : *He saw spring up from the Teeth of Serpents, an Army of five Men, or rather of armed Soldiers ranged by Fives*, which was the ancient Manner, especially among the *Egyptians*, of marshalling and marching Troops. Thus we may very reasonably conjecture, that *Jason*, besides his Companions, had raised in the Country some auxiliary Troops, which were given out to be sprung out of the Earth, because they were Subjects of the King of *Colchis*, and of the same Country,
and

and who perished in the Battle that was probably fought between the *Greeks* and the *Colchians*: For this whole poetical Mystery which I have set forth, may very well be understood of a Battle which made the *Greeks* victorious, and Masters of *Æetes's* Person and Treasures. This Explanation is undoubtedly preferable to that of *Diodorus Siculus* (1), who says the Keeper of the *Golden Fleece* was named *Draco*, and that the Troops which served him had come from the *Tauric Chersonesus*, which gave Rise to the Fables I have been now explaining.

We have observed, in the History of *Cadmus*, that the antient Poets introduced into it the same Fable of those armed Men, sprung from the Teeth of *Mars's* Dragon, who killed one another, all but five; because, in fact, such another Adventure having happened to that Leader of the Colony, with the Assistance of Troops which he had levied in *Beotia*, was writ in the same Language, and probably pretty much in the same Terms with that of *Jason*.

I know it is not generally agreed that the *Golden Fleece* was nothing but the King of *Colchis's* Treasure. *Diodorus Siculus* is of Opinion, that it was the Fleece of a Ram which *Phryxus* had sacrificed, and which was kept very carefully, because an Oracle had foretold, that the King would be slain by him who should carry it off. *Strabo* and *Justin* thought the Foundation of the Fable of this Fleece was, that in *Colchis* there were Streams which rolled a golden Sand, which they gathered with Sheep's Skins, as is the Practice at this Day about *Fort-Louis*, where the Gold Dust is collected with such Fleeces, which, when well filled therewith, may be considered as golden Fleeces. *Varro* and *Pliny* will have it, that this Fable derives its Origin from the fine Wool of those Countries, and that the Expedition which some *Greek* Merchants had undertaken in quest thereof, had given Rise to the Fiction. We may add, that as the *Colchians* had great Traffic in

(1) Lib. 4.

in *Marten's Skins*, and other Furs, this perhaps was the Motive of the *Argonautic Expedition*.

Palephatus (1) imagines, I know not upon what Foundation, that under the Emblem of the *Golden Fleece*, was designed a fine golden Statue which the Mother of *Pelops* had procured, and which *Peryxus* had carried with him into *Colchis*.

Lastly, *Suidas* reckons that the *Golden Fleece* was a Parchment Book, containing the Secret of making Gold, a proper Object to inflame the Ambition, or rather the Covetousness, not only of the *Greeks*, but of the whole Earth; and this Opinion, which *Tollius* thought to have revived, is followed by all the *Alchymists*.

C H A P. III.

The Return of the Argonauts into Greece.

JASON having happily accomplished all his Designs, was now solicitous to be gone, and how to conceal his Departure; thus taking Advantage of a dark Night, when *Medea* and those who accompanied her, had repaired to his Ship with *Æetes's* Treasures, he quickly set sail, not doubting but that he would soon be pursued. Accordingly he was so: The King quickly fitted out some Ships, which set out under the Command of *Abfyrtus* his Son, with a View to pursue the Ravisher. He very soon overtook him; but *Jason*, according to *Onomacritus*, having landed with his Brother-in-law, conveyed him with *Medea* into some remote Place, under Pretext of treating of an Accommodation, where he and *Medea* assassinated him, and scattered the Members of his Body along the Way to retard the March of his Pursuers; after which they re-imbarked.

This Fact is undoubtedly the Invention of the Poets now quoted, since we shall find afterwards, that *Abfyrtus* pursued the Ship *Argo* for a long Time. Further, the Character of *Medea*, which I shall give in a particular

(1) De Incred. c. 31.

cular Chapter, where I shall shew, that she was by no means such a bad Woman as some Poets have represented her, especially *Euripides*, corrupted by the *Corinthian* Money, will remove the very Suspicion of so barbarous an Action.

His Return into *Greece* is told by antient Poets in several Ways very different one from another; and however extravagant their Relations are, yet they had all the good Luck to find in the Places which they make him to pass through, Monuments to confirm that *Heracles*'s having been there; and their Relations have been adopted either in whole or in part, by grave Historians, such as *Hecateus* of *Miletus*, *Timagetes*, *Timeus*, &c. *Strabo* himself, who gives no Credit to them, mentions however Monuments found in the Places where the Poets now cited make him to have passed.

Onomacritus makes him to have cruised along the Eastern Coasts of *Asia*, sailed through the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, and the *Palus Meotis*; whence having entered certain Straits, they passed there nine Days, at the End of which, they were got into the Northern Ocean, where the Wind failing them, they were obliged to land, and lay up their Ship. Some time after a gentle Gale invited them to put again to Sea, and they sailed on, still keeping to the Left, and arrived at the Island *Peucestes*, which was not unknown to the Pilot *Anceus*: From thence to that of *Circe*, where *Jason* sent out for Intelligence, had an Interview with that Princess, who after informing him that all his Misfortunes were owing to the Murder of *Abfyrthus*, from which, however, she refused to expiate him, they continued their Course, arrived at *Hercules*'s Pillars, reentered the *Mediterranean*, passed near *Sicily*, and fell into the Straits of *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, where they would infallibly have been shipwreck'd, if *Tethys*, to prevent the Calamity with which her Husband *Peleus* was threatned, had not extricated them from it. The Seat of the *Sirens*, which is not far from thence, was like to have been as fatal to them as the Straits; but *Orpheus*'s Eloquence saved them from that Peril. Hav-

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ing escaped this new Danger, they arrived in the Country of the *Pheacians*, where they met with the Enemy's Fleet, which was come by another Way to wait for them. The Commanders of that Fleet demanded of him *Medea*, and it was agreed on both Sides, that *Jafon* should be obliged to deliver her up to them, if he had not actually married her. But the Wife of *Alcinous*, who was chosen Judge, having got the Nuptials celebrated that same Night; and having declared to the Deputies from the Enemy's Fleet, that she certainly knew that *Jafon* and *Medea* had been married from the Time of his carrying her off, they were obliged to let him keep her, and return. In the mean time, our Adventurers departed from the Island of the *Pheacians*, and were now arrived in the Gulf of *Ambracia*, when a Storm drove them upon the Quick-sands of *Africa*, where they underwent a vast Number of Dangers. At length having got clear of so hazardous a Place, they made the Cape *Malea*, where was performed the Expiation for *Abfyrthus's* Murder, as *Circe* had enjoined them, after which they arrived upon the Coasts of *Thessaly*.

How improbable soever this Voyage is, especially for a Period of Time when Navigation was but little improved, that which *Apollonius Rhodius* makes them accomplish, is still more so. *Juno*, says that Poet, having a Mind to deliver the *Argonauts* from the Danger which they were in from the Fleet of *Abfyrthus*, which was in Pursuit of them, was turning the Ship *Argo* towards *Greece*, when they called to mind that *Phineus* had bid them return home by a different Way from that which they had taken in going to *Colchis*; that this Courſe had been marked out by the Priests of *Thebes* in *Egypt*; that from that Country had antiently come a Conqueror, who after having over-run *Europe* and *Asia*, and conquered many Countries, had founded ſeveral Cities, and among others *Aea* the Capital of *Colchis*; that thoſe antient People ſhewed Pillars whereon were engraved the Roads and Courſes from and to all Places both by Sea and Land that were

accessible, which Pillars intimated, that there was at the Extremities of the Ocean a vast River, of a very extensive Course. This River was the *Danube*, into which they entered by one of its Mouths, while *Abfyrthus*, whom that Poet makes to have been then dead in the Manner above mentioned, entered thither by another Mouth, and went up the River for several Leagues. Then the River failing them, they landed, and carried their Ship for upwards of fifty Leagues, as far as the *Adriatic* Gulf, where they met with *Abfyrthus*, who had got before them; and there it was, according to this Poet, that *Jason* put him to Death, much in the same Manner as *Onomacritus* relates.

It was after this Murder an Oracle was delivered from the Beam that had grown in the Forest of *Dodona*, letting them know that they were not to get home till *Jason* had submitted to the Ceremony of Expiation: Upon which, they thought fit to steer their Course another Way, and landed in the Port of *Æea*, the Seat of *Circe*, Sister to the King of *Colchis*, and Aunt to *Medea*. This Princess received her Niece with *Jason* without knowing them: They both advanced with downcast Eyes, and without uttering a single Word, till they came up to the sacred Hearth, where *Jason* fixed in the Ground the Sword wherewith he had killed *Abfyrthus*. Their Silence, and the Posture in which they appeared, made *Circe* apprehend that they were Criminals, and therefore she prepared herself to give them Expiation. First, she ordered to be brought a young Pig, not yet weaned, and having cut the Throat of it, rubbed the Hands of *Jason* and *Medea* with its Blood, and performed the usual Libations in Honour of *Jupiter Expiator*. After which, having thrown out of the Palace the Remains of the Sacrifice, she burnt upon the Altar Cakes baked with Meal, Water, and Salt, and accompanied all these Ceremonies with Prayers proper to appease the Gods. The Expiation ended, she made her Guests sit down to an Entertainment; but afterwards, coming to understand that *Medea* was her Niece, she expelled her with *Jason*,
with-

without however doing them any Harm, because they had implored her Protection in the Posture of Suppliants.

Leaving this Seat, they again put to Sea, made a prosperous enough Voyage for some Time; and they were just almost arrived on the Coasts of *Greece*, when a Storm drove them upon the Quick-sands of *Africa*, from which they had the greatest Difficulty imaginable to extricate themselves. However, they got clear of them at length, and arrived happily in *Greece*.

Lastly, a third Tradition, after making the *Argonauts* go up the *Phasis* a second Time, brings them to visit several Countries of *Asia*, where they left many Footsteps of their Rout. However void of Probability these three Relations seem to be, they deserve some Reflections. First, That of *Onomacritus*, which makes our Heroes return by the northern Ocean, is plainly a Fiction, which demonstrates, that in the Time of that Poet the northern Countries were but little known. That the *Argonauts* entred by the *Euxine* Sea into the *Palus Meotis*, has nothing strange in it: 'Tis even possible that they might have for some Time gone up the *Tanais*; but to imagine it possible by that River to go as far as the Ocean, is the Height of Ignorance, and a childish Fiction which the Author has introduced, only to give him an Opportunity of describing to us the People of those distant Countries so far as they were known in his Time; People to the most of whom we are intire Strangers, and who had not so much as an Existence in the Time when *Onomacritus* is said to have lived; while the Situation of others is only placed at a Venture in the Relation of this Expedition. I shall not enter into any Detail with respect to all the Nations which the *Argonauts* light upon in this Rout of theirs, and which the Author barely mentions, without saying any thing particular about their Manners or Customs. *Herodotus* alone is sufficient to rectify the greatest Part of this Relation. What *Onomacritus* says of the *Macrobiani* is fully explained in the two Dissertations which the Abbé *Gedouyn* and I have made upon the *Hyperboreans*. As to the *Cimmerians*, who inhabited

inhabited near the *Bosphorus* of that Name, this Poet, in Imitation of *Homer*, has placed them in the Ocean, because possibly it was known even in their Time, that a People could not be buried in Darkness, unless they inhabited nearer the Pole than the *Bosphorus* is. I say nothing of the other geographical Errors with which this Poet may be charged, because they are obvious; far less of the Conveyance of the Ship by Land; which appears a mere Fiction; but I ought not to pass over in Silence what *Apollonius Rhodius* says of those Pillars of *Colchis*, upon which were engraved all the Routs known in that Time; this Fact relating to *Sesostris*, who actually extended his Conquests as far as the *Phasis*, and left there several Monuments of no less Magnificence than Utility. This Poet having spent most of his Life in *Egypt* in Quality of Librarian to *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, had undoubtedly in his Possession the History of *Sesostris*; and tho' this was posterior to the *Argonautic* Expedition, he might, by way of Anticipation, speak of the Monuments which that Conqueror left in *Colchis*: For which, besides *Herodotus*, I refer to *Syncellus*, *Jamblicus*, *Huetius* (1), and several other Authors. The antient Commentator on *Apollonius Rhodius*, gives the Name of *Setboncofis* to the Prince who had erected these Pillars, who is the same with *Sesostris*.

I might content myself with these general Reflections upon the two Poets, and the Historians who have spoke of the Return of the *Argonauts*; but as among the Fables with which they have interspersed the Relation, of this Voyage, there are some that may be reduced to History, I hope it will not be ill taken that I attempt to explain them.

I begin with that of *Abfyrthus*. The Murder of this young Prince, sent by his Father in pursuit of those who had carried away the *Golden Fleece*, is so variously related by those who have had Occasion to speak of this Expedition, that there is little Doubt of its being

a mere Fiction. That *Medea*, or *Jason*, or both together, laid a Plot to put him to Death; that after having assassinated him, they cut his Body in Pieces, and strewed them in the Way of the *Colchians*, that they might spend Time in gathering up the scattered Members, and thereby be retarded in their Pursuit; all this appears to be fabulous. The Authors of this Murder, by making use of that Stratagem, instead of retarding, would much more have hastened the Pursuit of the *Colchians*, who would probably have deferred the gathering up of those sad Remains of their Chief, till they had overtaken and punished the Criminals. Thus, with respect to this Pursuit, I prefer the Opinion of those of the Antients who tell us there was an Engagement upon the *Euxine* Sea, when the Fleet of *Aetes* had joined the *Argonauts*, wherein that Prince and his Son were slain; which left our Voyagers the Liberty to return into *Greece* by the same Way they came; thus they landed at the Cape of *Malea*, as *Herodotus* expressly says (1).

What we read in *Pindar* (2), that the *Argonauts* arriving near the Coasts of *Greece*, were assailed by a Storm which drove them upon the Coasts of *Africa*, is the more probable, that *Herodotus*, and some other Historians, are agreed with that Poet; but whether it was in their Return, or at their first setting out, is not easy to determine. *Herodotus*, who advances this Fact, is not clear enough upon this Article. We may suppose it happened not long after their setting out. That Author, speaking of the River *Triton*, which discharges itself into the Lake *Tritonis*, where is an Island which was called *Pbla*, says it was believed that this Island must have been inhabited by the *Lacedemonians*; and he adds, it was reported by Tradition, that when *Jason* had built at the Foot of Mount *Pelion* the Ship which was called *Argo*, and had stowed in it a Hecatombe and a Tripod of Brass; he undertook the Voyage to *Delpi* by the Tour of *Peloponnesus*; that taking

(1) L. 4. (2) *Pyth.* 4.

ing his Rout by the Promontory of *Malea*, the North-wind drove him upon *Libya*, where he found his Ship run aground in the Lake *Tritonis*; and while he was endeavouring to extricate himself, a *Triton* appeared to him, and told him, that if he would give him the Tripod he had in his Ship, he would shew him how to get clear of this Danger; upon which, *Jason* agreeing to the Proposal, gave him the Tripod, which the *Triton* laid up in his Temple, and foretold *Jason* and his Crew, that when one of their Descendants should carry off that Tripod, it was fixed by Fate that there should be a hundred *Greek* Towns built upon the Lake *Tritonis*; in fine, that the *Libyans* being informed of this Oracle, kept the Tripod carefully concealed.

I shall first make some Reflexions upon this Narration. The first is, that if this Adventure is true, it must have happened not long after the Departure of the *Greeks*, as has been said; and 'tis natural to believe so, from the Hecatomb which *Jason* had stowed in his Ship, which would have greatly encumbered him in his Expedition; besides, it was destined for a Sacrifice to *Apollo* for obtaining a prosperous Voyage, according to the Practice of those Times, and if so, then *Medea* was not at that Time with the *Argonauts*, as *Pindar* tells us (a). 2. Though little Strals is to be had upon a Story which *Herodotus* relates upon the Faith of another, without seeming to adopt it, yet, as it was the Consequence of an antient Tradition, and stood connected with Events which we learn from History, 'tis better to explain the fabulous Circumstances thereof than to reject it.

'Tis certain in Fact, as far as may be affirmed of the Events of that Time, that the *Argonauts* landed in that Part of *Libya* which is called *Cyrenaicum*. Being embarrassed in a difficult Pass, they had the Assistance

E 2

of

(a) See Page 53. where *Pindar* supposes that *Medea*, in whole Mouth he puts a Prediction, was then with the *Argo*
naust.

of the People of the Country to help them to get clear of it. This Fable is clothed in a fabulous Dress; the Poets hardly venting any Thing but under the Veil of Fiction. The *Triton* who appeared to them under a human Form, was a Prince who reigned in that Place, whom *Pindar* and his Scholiast name *Eurypilus*. He gave good Instructions to our Heroes to avoid the Sand Banks which lie in the *Syrtes* and thereabout. This is the whole Mystery: The Prediction which they put in his Mouth having only been invented after the Event; that is, after the *Greeks* were settled in that Part of *Africa*, and had built Cities there.

The *Sea-Goddesses* and the *Genii*, whom *Apollonius* makes also to appear to our Voyagers, are the Inhabitants of that Coast who assisted them; and that Horse unyoked from *Neptune's* Chariot, whose Tract he ordered them to follow, is a Ship detached from *Eurypilus's* Fleet, which served them for a Guide. This Horse was feigned to have Wings, and to cut the Air with vast Rapidity, which denotes the Swiftneſs of the Ship: For how is it possible otherwise to reconcile what we read in the Poet now named, of the *Argonauts* having carried their Ship, being ordered at the ſame Time to follow the Traces of a Horse which went as faſt as the ſwifteſt Bird?

Our Heroes, in Gratitude for the ſignal Service done them by *Eurypilus*, made him a Preſent of the Tripod above mentioned. *Diodorus*, who alſo ſpeaks of it, ſays there was upon the Tripod an Inſcription in very antient Characters, and adds, that it was preſerved to the lateſt Times among the People called *Hesperians*, in *Cyrenaicum*.

Pindar, intending to write a Panegyric upon *Arceſilaus* King of *Cyrene*, one of the Descendants of *Euphemus* that celebrated *Argonaut* mentioned elſewhere, quite forgets his Heroe, and runs out at great Length upon the Adventures that beſel the *Argonauts*, eſpecially in *Africa*, relating the Hiſtory of that Clod of Earth which the *Triton* gave them; but he differs from *Apollonius Rhodius*, who wrote not till after him. The *Triton*, ſays

says *Pindar*, charmed with the Tripod given him by the *Argonauts*, beg'd them not to set out till he should have Time to go and fetch them the Presents which every Host is bound to make to his Guests; but those Princes, whom a favourable Wind perhaps invited to set sail, not having allowed him Time, he took a Clod of Earth and gave to *Euphemus*. When the *Argonauts* had arrived near the Island *Calisthé*, the fatal Clod drop'd into the Sea, and *Medea* foretold *Euphemus* that this Incident would retard the Settlement of his Posterity in *Libya*.

For understanding this Prediction of *Medea*, we must relate here what we are told by Historians, of the Descendants of the *Argonauts*, and of the Women of *Lemnos*, whom the Antients called the *Mynians*. The *Pelasgi*, says *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* (1), having made themselves Masters of that Island, expelled them from it, in the fourth Generation after the Passage of the *Argonauts*. Being forced to quit their Country, they put to Sea, as we read in *Herodotus* (2), and passed into *Laconia*. The *Lacedemonians* perceiving them near Mount *Taygetus*, where they had lighted up Fires, sent a Deputation to them; and hearing that they were the Descendants of the *Argonauts*, who were coming in quest of their Relations, they received them into their City, upon Account of *Castor* and *Pollux*. But these new Guests having become factious, were banished the City, and came most of them and settled in the Island *Calisthé*, named afterwards the Island of *Tetra*.

From the Island *Calisthé* the *Argonauts* happily arrived on the Coasts of *Thessaly*, whence they set out. *Peleus* having died in the Voyage, *Acastes* his Son engaged his Companions before their Separation to celebrate Funeral Games in Honour of his Father; and as *Pausanias* (3) gives the Description thereof, we shall here set down his Words.

" Behind the Place which represented the Palace of
" *Amphiaraus*, upon the Coffer of the *Cypselides*, is

E 3

to

(1) L. 1. (2) L. 4. (3) In *Eliac* l. 1.

“ to be seen a Multitude of Spectators, in the midst
 “ of whom is *Hercules* sitting upon a Throne. Behind
 “ him, is a Woman playing upon the *Pbrygian* Flute,
 “ as appears from an Inscription. *Petus*, the Son of
 “ *Perieres*, (he was only his Grandson) and *Asterion*
 “ the Son of *Cometes*, each mounted on a Chariot,
 “ are urging their Steeds in the Race : *Pollux*, *Adme-*
 “ *tus*, and *Euphemus* are disputing for the same Prize.
 “ And we see it is the last that gains the Victory.
 “ On another side *Admetus* and *Mopsus* the Sons of
 “ *Ampysus* are engaged in the Gauntlet-fight ; between
 “ them is a Man playing upon the Flute. The
 “ wrestling Match is between *Jason* and *Peleus* ; they
 “ seem to be of equal Strength. *Eurybotus* is in the
 “ Posture of a Man throwing a Coit. *Melanion*,
 “ *Neotbeus*, *Pbalareus*, *Argius* and *Ipbiclus* are the
 “ five who seem to have disputed the Prize of the
 “ Foot-race : *Ipbiclus* wins the Prize, and *Acastes* is
 “ putting a Crown upon his Head. This *Ipbiclus*
 “ was the Father of *Protesilaus*, who went to the Siege
 “ of *Troy*. We see also in the same Picture several
 “ Tripods for the Conquerors. The Daughters of
 “ *Pelias* join in those Games, one of whom is named
 “ in the Inscription ; namely *Alceste*. *Jolaus* the Com-
 “ panion of *Hercules* in his Labours, carries the Prize
 “ of the Chariot-race, and this closes the Funeral-
 “ Games of *Pelias*.”

The same Author adds (1), that *Glaucus* the Son
 of *Sisyphus*, had been trod down by his Horses in the
 same Games ; but he says nothing of the literary Con-
 tests that accompanied them ; *Acesander* however, cited
 by *Plutarch* (2), will have it that this Sort of Match
 was likewise exhibited there, wherein the Poets dispu-
 ted the Prize, in reading their *Tetralogia* ; and this
 no doubt, is the most antient Example that can be
 cited of this literary Trial, so much used afterwards
 in the Games of *Greece*.

The *Argonauts* before they separated (3), entered
 into a Confederacy against all who should have any
 Quarre

Quarrel with them; and to make it the more solemn, *Hercules* convened them in the Plains of *Elis*, there to celebrate the Olympic Games, which had been interrupted for a long Time, as they likewise were afterwards. *Jason* consecrated in the Isthmus of *Corinth* to the God of the Sea, the Ship *Argo*, which the Poets have since placed in the Heavens, as may be seen in *Hyginus*, and in the first Verses of *Valerius Flaccus*.

C H A P. IV.

The Date of this Event.

AS the Date of this Event may cast a great Light upon the Age whereof I am now writing the History, I shall endeavour to settle it with some Accuracy. But the Difficulty that occurs here is very great: The Learned have embraced different Opinions as to this *Æra*; some removing it too far from the *Trojan War*, for it is enough if we can determine its Distance from that Event; others again bringing it too near; that is to say, the first set it at the Distance of 96 Years from it, with *Eusebius*; and others only 20 Years, with *Jeseph Scaliger*; both which are equally contrary to what I am going to demonstrate.

If the Date of *Hercules's* Death, assigned by *Apollo-dorus* (1), who makes that Heroe to have died 53 Years before the Taking of *Troy*, was once fixed, and the Space of four or five Years were to be allowed for what he did from the Expedition of the *Argonauts* to his Death, this Conquest would then have fallen out about 58 Years before the taking of *Troy*; which cannot be admitted. 'Tis true *Velleius Paterculus* (2), makes *Hercules* to have died only forty Years before that War, to which if we add the five Years I have mentioned, the *Æra* we want, would fall in the Year 44 or 45; but this Distance is still too great, and is inconsistent, tho' less than the rest, with the most incontestable Records of Antiquity with relation to the

E 4

Age

(1) Clem. of Alex. Strom. l. 1. (2) L. 2.

Age in Question. For in fine, how can we think otherwise of two Events, in the last of which, we find a good Number of the same Warriors, several of their Sons, and only a few of their Grandsons, but that they were much nearer to one another than several Authors allow, namely, at the Distance of not above 34 or 35 Years; much in the same Way as we judge of the War in 1701, and that in 1734, where we have seen the same Warriors, their Sons, and some of their Grandsons. Now this is precisely the Case of the *Argonauts*, and the Captains in the *Trojan War*, according to all Antiquity, beginning with *Homer*.

Among the Warriors who joined in both Expeditions, I reckon first *Philoctetes*, who without dispute was of the Number of the *Argonauts*, and concurred in the Siege of *Troy* after *Ulysses* brought him from *Lemnos* where he had been left, and who consequently went twice to that Island, as we have it in *Valerius Flaccus* (a). I shall even make it appear in the particular History of this Heroe, that he survived the taking of *Troy* a long Time. *Euryalus* the Son of *Me-cistheus*, and Grandson of *Talaus*, the same who had been present at the Conquest of the *Golden Fleece*, commanded the *Argives* with *Diomedes* at the Siege of *Troy*: I say the same, since *Homer* gives him the same Genealogy with that now mentioned.

Tho' *Nestor* is named among *Jason's* Companions only by *Valerius Flaccus* (1), he is at least to be reckoned in the Number of their Contemporaries. He had seen his Country laid waste by *Hercules*, he had been at the Battle of the *Centaur*s, and at the Hunting of *Calydon*; two Events, whereof the one preceded, and the other followed soon after the Expedition of the *Argonauts*.

Tho' *Castor* and *Pollux* two of the principal *Argo-*
nauts,

(a) *Tu quoque Phryxæos, vides, Pæantis Colchos,
Bis Lemnum visure petis: nunc Patris — —
Inchytus, Hercules olim moture sagittas.*

Val. Flac. l. 1. v. 39.

(1) L. 1. & l. 6.

nauts, were not present at the *Trojan War*, they may serve for the same Synchronism, since they died only at the Beginning of that War, or not long before it, and even died very young. *Helen*, their twin Sister, who must have been about the Age of 15 or 16 Years, when her Brothers embarked with *Jason*, was at the taking of that City, being then not very old, as I shall prove in her History.

We are to think the same of *Priam*, who had been Witness to the Taking of *Troy* by *Hercules*, at the very Time of the Expedition of the *Argonauts*, and was then of Age fit to govern; for 'tis no where said that *Hercules*, who left him the Crown after he had put *Laomedon* to Death, gave him at the same Time a Tutor. *Anchises* had also been witness to this Expedition of *Hercules*; as *Virgil* makes him say at the Time when *Aeneas* was advising him to leave *Troy* with him.

- - - - - Satis una, superque
Vidimus excidia, & captæ superavimus urbi (1).

I find also among those who joined in both the Expeditions, *Ascalapbus* and *Jalmenus*, both Sons of *Mars*; for as *Apollodorus* (2) reckons them in the Number of the *Argonauts*, so *Homer* (3), who gives them the same Father and Mother, *Mars* and *Astioché*, tells us that they were at the Siege of *Troy*, where they commanded the *Beotians* of *Aspledon* and *Orchomenos* a City of *Myrias*. What is also singular in this, the same *Apollodorus* (4) reckons these two Princes in the Number of *Helen's* Lovers, who came to *Sparta* to make Proposals of Marriage to her, a new Argument that several Persons had seen both the Events now in Debate. It may be objected that these two Princes were Grandsons of the *Argonaut Aëtor*, by their Mother *Astioché*; but in answer to this, it is no rare Thing for the Grandsons, especially on the side of the Daughters, to perform their first Campaigns with their Grandfathers.

Thesens,

(1) *Æn.* l. 2. (2) *Bibl.* l. 1. (3) *Iliad.* l. 2. (4) *L.* 3.

Theseus, who had been of the Number of the *Argonauts*, or at least had joined in the War between the *Centauers* and *Lapithæ*, died indeed some time before the Siege of *Troy*; but he might have been there for Age, since his Mother *Æthra* was at *Troy* when the City was taken, the Slave of *Helen*, from the Time that *Castor* and *Pollux* had delivered their Sister, to whose Care *Theseus* had committed her. *Plutarch* I know contradicts the Authors who assert this; but a historical Monument quoted by *Pausanias* (a), shews that this was a current Tradition. This Monument was a Picture of *Polygnotus*, representing the taking of *Troy*, wherein among several other Personages, was to be seen at *Helen's* Side, *Æthra* the Mother of *Theseus*, with her Head shaved, and *Demophoon* the Son of *Theseus*, who, as far as one can judge from his Attitude, was contriving how he might set her at Liberty. The Poet *Lescheus*, from whom the Painter had got those Facts, as *Pausanias* remarks, said in his Poems, that after the taking of *Troy*, *Æthra* came into the Grecian Camp; that she was known there to *Demophoon* the Son of *Theseus*, who ask'd her Liberty from *Agamemnon*, and obtained it from him, with *Helen's* Consent. This fact, if true, is the most proper to determine the nearness of the two Events in Question; for here is the Mother of a Contemporary of the *Argonauts*, who outlived the Destruction of *Troy*. Nor is *Pausanias* the only one who attests this Fact, since we find it in the tragic Poets, in *Lescheus*, *Cleon* (1), and in the Historian *Isthor* (2).

According to *Servius*, here is another *Argonaut* who was also alive after the taking of *Troy*; namely, *Eryx*, whom *Eneas* saw in *Sicily*. In fine, if the *Argonaut* *Peleus* was not present at the *Trojan* War, he was however then very vigorous, and survived the taking of that City many Years, since the Chronicle of *Paros* observes, that seven Years after he banished his Son *Teucer* from his Court.

These

(a) In Phocic. See also the tragic Authors who relate the same Fact.

(1) Var. Hist. l. 4. c. 5. (2) Atic. l. 3.

IV. *explained by HISTORY.* 59

ese are the *Argonauts* or their Contemporaries, either were, or might have been, present at both litions; thus reckoning only thirty four or thirty ears between them, those Heroes, as yet very at the first, will have been Fifty five or Sixty of Age at the End of the second, some over, under, and this is nearly the Age that *Homer* hem. As for *Priam*, *Nestor*, and some others ere older, it is because they were already Men own at the Time of the War of the *Centours*, the Expedition to *Colchis*, while most of the *Castor* and *Pollux*, were in the Bloom of Youth. ich purpose, 'tis proper to observe, that when et now named says *Nestor* had seen two Ages n, and was then living in the third, he means : had seen a Revolution of two Generations, Sixty or Sixty-six Years; and if he was in the of the third, he must have been about Seven- or Eighty Years.

ost all the other Captains of the *Grecian* Army ther Sons of the *Argonauts*, or of their Con- aries. *Teucer* and *Ajax* were the Sons of *Tela-* o had embarked with the *Argonauts*. *Schedius* *istropius* had for their Father *Ipbitus* the *Argo-* *Agapenor* was the Son of the Pilote *Anceus* : s, of *Eurytus*; *Tboas*, of *Andremon* : *Tlepolemus*, of s and *Astioché* : *Achilles*, whom all the Antients o have been at the Siege of *Troy* while he was ounting, was however born before the setting out *Argonauts*, to whom *Chiron* presented him, as n said; and consequently we may conclude, that *Thyffes* found him out in the Isle of *Scyros*, and it him to *Troy*, he was about Thirty-five Years; perfectly well agrees with the Age of *Pyrrbus* n, who probably was about Seventeen or en Years when he arrived at *Troy*, in the tenth of the Siege.

nces was the Son of the *Argonaut* *Ipbiclus* : *Eu-* of *Admetus*, *Jason's* Contemporary : *Polypetes*, of us : *Diomedes*, of *Tydeus* : *Ulysses*, of *Laertes* like- wise

wife Contemporary with *Jason*; and if *Glaucus* was only *Bellerophon's* Grandson, 'tis certain that his Father *Hippolochus* was still alive. In fine, *Calchas* was the Son of the *Argonaut Tester*, and all these Sons were, as *Homer* tells us, in the Flower of their Age. I say nothing of the Grandsons, who are not above two or three, some of whose Grandfathers were even still alive. I have therefore good reason to maintain that there was between those two Expeditions but an Interval of Thirty-four or Thirty-five Years, or to speak the Language of those Times, that the last happened but one Generation after the first; and I dare challenge those who are of the contrary Opinion, to advance any thing as certain against the *Synchronisms* now offered. I know there are vast difficulties in reconciling the Chronology of the Age now in question; but weighing one Difficulty against another, the Opinion I have established is loaded with fewer than all the rest.

C H A P. V.

The Continuation of the Adventures of Jason and Medea.

THE Sequel of *Jason's* History is told by the Antients in so many different Ways, that 'tis not easy to establish any thing certain upon this Head, from the Return of the *Argonauts*; that of *Medea* especially, is interspersed with a Number of Fictions which destroy one another. Here she is a cruel inhuman Princess, the Murderer of her Brother and of *Pelias*, having obliged her own Daughters to cut his Throat under pretext of making him renew his Youth; of her Rival whom she put to a miserable Death, and of her own Children whom she sacrificed to her Jealousy (1). There she is a virtuous Person, whose only Crime is the Love which she had for her Spouse, who basely abandoned her, notwithstanding the Pledges he had of her Affection, to wed the Daughter of *Creon*; a Woman of a very different Character from *Circé* her Aunt

(1) *Eur. Ovid. &c.*

Aunt (1), who employed the Secrets she had learned from *Hecate* her Mother, only in making up salutary Remedies for those who came to consult her, while *Circé* used only to the Purposes of her own Revenge the Knowledge she had acquired, or in the Language of the Fable, which the *Sun* her Father had communicated to her.

Lastly, a Queen forsaken, persecuted, who after having had recourse in vain to the Security of her Husband's Promises and Oaths, is obliged to wander from Court to Court, and at length to cross the Seas in quest of a Sanctuary in distant Countries: Accordingly even those who have loaded her with the greatest Number of Crimes, could not help owning, that being of a virtuous Disposition, she had only been drawn into Vice by a Kind of Fatality, and by the Wrath of the Gods, especially of *Venus*, who persecuted without Intermision the whole Race of the *Sun*, who had discovered her Intrigue with *Mars*. Hence these Words of *Racine*: *O Sun whom I abhor!* Hence again that fine Sentiment of *Ovid* (2): *Video meliora, proboque; deteriora sequor*; which one of our Poets has happily imitated in these Lines: *

*I see the Right, and I approve it too;
Condemn the Wrong—and yet the Wrong pursue.*
Garth's *Ovid*. Met. l. 7.

The antient tragic Writers are blamed, and I think justly, for having vitiated the History of this Princess, and entirely perverted her Character, as we shall see afterwards. The Pathetic is what tragic Poets aim at, and enormous Crimes, which being wrought into the odious Characters of their Personages, are susceptible of those theatrical touches, that are so apt to produce Terror and Compassion. Being authorised by Traditions that favoured their Design, tho' not so well vouched as others which would have crossed their Purpose,

(1) *Diod. Siculus.* (2) *Met. l. 7. v. 20.*

* *Le destin de Médée est d'être criminelle,
Mais son cœur étoit fait pour aimer la vertu.*

pose, they greedily laid hold on them, and without troubling themselves about the exact Truth, they have transmitted down to us the History of *Medea* under the most odious Character; and the modern Poets have not been wanting to imitate them.

We shall endeavour to unravel the Truth from what is Fiction, weigh Authorities, and leave the Reader at liberty to judge if this Princess was so bad as she has been represented.

To begin with the Murder of *Abfyrthus*. I have made it appear that this Fact is differently related by the Poets; that the Story of that Prince's Members being dispersed in the Way, was a pure Chimera; and besides, here is a Fact related by *Herodotus*, the natural Inferences from which prove that I have reason thus to judge of it. That knowing and judicious Author says, *Aetes* finding that those whom he had sent out against his Daughter's Ravishers, were not able to come up with them, thought it necessary, in order to do himself Justice, to send Ambassadors into *Greece*. These Deputies arrived there accordingly; but as the *Argonauts* had taken an Oath, that before their Separation they would support one another, and as they were the stronger Party, the Ambassadors of the King of *Colchis* had no other Answer, but that as no Reparation had been made to the *Greeks* for the Rape of *Io*, the Daughter of *Inachus*, ravished by *Phenician* Merchants who had come to traffick at *Argos*, neither were they disposed to give them any Satisfaction. It does not appear that the King of *Colchis*, after receiving this Answer, took any other Step for the Recovery of his Daughter. This Embassy supposes that the Prince would have been overjoyed to see his Daughter again, whom however he had reason to consider as a Monster, if she had really imbrued her Hands in the Blood of her Brother.

In the mean time, the Death of *Pelias*, whose Funerals had been celebrated with so much Pomp and Apparatus, left the Throne vacant, to which *Jason* had

had a legal Title, but probably the Party of his Cousin *Acastus* was the stronger, and it does not appear that he shared it with him, as he ought to have done, or resigned it to him altogether, since his Father had only possessed it by Usurpation from *Eson*. *Jason* thus seeing himself deprived of his Inheritance, and not being powerful enough to obtain it by Force, embarked with *Medea*, and retired to *Corinth*, where he had Friends, and even some Pretensions to the Crown by his Wife, as shall be said afterwards.

Diodorus Siculus says the same upon the Authority of *Simonides*, and contends, that it was the *Corinthians* themselves invited *Medea* to come and take Possession of a Throne which belonged to her; or at least to share the Authority of it with *Creon*, who was in Possession. Here again is a Fact attested by ancient Authors, which overthrows another Calumny published against *Medea*, by *Ovid*, *Apollodorus*, *Pausanias*, and some others.

First, 'tis supposed by them that *Pelias* and *Eson* were still alive at the Return of the *Argonauts*, that the latter being extremely old, and hardly able to support himself, *Jason* had desired *Medea* his Wife to employ some secret Art, which she knew, some Composition capable to restore him to his Strength and Vigour; and that she had accordingly given him one so efficacious, that by means of it he became young again. This is the Substance of that miraculous Operation as it is described in *Ovid*: "While all *Thessaly* was rejoicing
"for the Arrival of the *Argonauts*, *Eson* alone did
"not join in the Festival that was celebrated on that
"Occasion. Oppressed with old Age, and just upon
"the Brink of the Grave, he could enjoy no part
"of the public Mirth: *Jason* his Son much affected
"to see him in this Condition, thus bespoke *Medea*.
"I know, my dear Spouse, that you have saved
"my Life: The Obligations I lie under to you are
"inexpressibly great. But I have one Favour more
"to ask you; cut off some Years of my Life, and
"add them to those of my Father: This is what

" you

“ you can do, for nothing surmounts the Power of
 “ your Art. As he thus spoke, he could not refrain
 “ from Tears. *Medea* was touched with *Jason's* ten-
 “ der Affection for his Father ; it made her call to
 “ Mind *Æetes*, whom she had left ; but this she kept
 “ to herself. What you require of me, says she to
 “ him, is highly unjust ; do you really believe, my
 “ dear Husband, that any Motives can determine me
 “ to abridge a Life which I prize so much ? Were I
 “ capable of such an Action, I would pray the God-
 “ dess *Hecate* to prevent me from it. The Love
 “ which you bear to your Father urges a Crime which
 “ I am incapable of committing. Your Wishes
 “ however shall be gratified, but in a Manner which
 “ you did not expect. I am going to exert all my
 “ Endeavours to prolong the Life of a Father whom
 “ you love.”

Upon this she went out of the Palace ; and mounting a Chariot drawn by winged Dragons, which descended from Heaven in her Sight, she traversed several Countries, and there gathered Herbs of all Kinds, of which she composed a Potion, then drew out the Blood which run in *Eson's* Veins, and injected in its stead the Liquor which she had prepared. So soon as the Draught had insinuated itself into the Body of the old Man, his Beard and his gray Hairs began to darken, the Wrinkles of his Face disappeared, and he recovered his pristine Vigour and good Plight.

The Daughters of *Pelias*, amazed at this Prodigy (1), besought *Medea* to vouchsafe the same Remedy to their Father ; and she having a mind to avenge her Father-in-law and her Husband of *Pelias's* Usurpation, persuaded her Cousins that the Remedy would have the same Effect upon their Father as upon *Eson*. First, she took an old Ram, cut it in Pieces, which she threw into a Caldron, and after mixing certain Herbs therewith, took it out and let them see it transformed into a young Lamb. She therefore set about making
 the

(1) Ovid. loc. cit. Pausan. in Arcad.

same Experiment upon the Person of the King(a), dissected him in the same Way, and threw his Body into a Caldron of boiling Water; but the perfidious Sorcerers left it there till the Fire had entirely consumed it; insomuch that nothing of it remained for his Daughters to bury. This, says *Pausanias*, is how made those unfortunate Princesses fly into *Arca*, where they ended their Days and were interred; *Medea*, to save herself, mounted her Chariot in the Fire, and flew through the Air.

The Mythologists, I know, give Explications of this Fable; some of them alledging that it refers to an Experiment of transfusing the Blood, which has sometimes been tried, but always with bad Success; while others say *Medea* having learned of her Mother the Use and Virtue of some Simples, had composed a Remedy by which she had restored her Father-in-law to his former Health: For which I refer to *Pliny*, *Servius* and *Eusebius*.

The same Mythologists add, that she mixed up with the Draught designed for *Pelias*, some venomous Serpents that poisoned him.

But bad Luck these Explications rest upon nothing; this Fable, which was only invented to make *Medea* more odious for a great Sorceress, has no Foundation in History. *Eson* had been forced by *Pelias* to drink his own Blood, and was dead before *Jason's* Arrival, as his Wife, who had strangled herself for Grief at his Death, was deceased at the Return of the *Argonauts*; of which his Funeral Games celebrated by the Heroes are a convincing Proof. *Jason* joined in with the other *Argonauts*; and how could he have been present there, if his Wife had been guilty, as is pretended of the Murder of his Uncle? The Fact is, that at the Celebration of those Games, *Jason* seeing his own Party too strong, found it convenient to quit the Game; and having embarked with *Medea* in a Ship called *The Dragon*, which gave Rise to the Fable of the Dragon.

IV. F those
Ovid says she induced the Daughters of *Pelias* to cut their own Throat, and then to divide his Body in Pieces with their hands.

those winged Dragons we have mentioned (a), went to push his Fortune elsewhere.

Corinth presented him with a secure Retreat, and *Creon* (b), who reigned there, made no Opposition, or durst not make any to his entering that City. For, if we may believe *Eumelus*, a very antient Author, a *Corinthian* by Birth, and of the Blood-Royal (1), *Medea*, as has been said, had a Right to the Crown, since, according to this Author, the *Sun*, the Son of *Hyperion*, having had by *Autiope*, *Æetes* and *Alous*, divided his Dominions among them, and *Corinth* having fallen to the first, who went and settled in *Colchis*, committed that City in Trust to *Bunus*, to be kept until he or one of his Children should come and demand it of him. The same *Eumelus* added, that *Medea* actually reigned at *Corinth* jointly with *Creon*, which is confirmed by *Simonides*. *Diodorus Siculus* says (2), it was the *Corinthians* themselves had invited this Princess to quit *Iolchos*, to come and take Possession of a Crown which belonged to her.

Medea and *Jason* resided ten Years in that City, where they lived in perfect Harmony, and had two Children. But *Jason's* Perfidiousness having made him forget the Obligations he owed to his Spouse, and the Oaths which he had taken to her, he made no Scruple to violate the sacred Ties of Marriage, which were then very much regarded; and falling in love with *Glaucé*, *Creon's* Daughter, divorced *Medea*. As antient Histories are always intermixed with Fables, it was given out that *Medea*, to be avenged of her Rival, lent her a poisoned Garment, which, like the Shirt that *Dejanira* had given *Hercules*, no sooner was put on by that unfortunate Princess, than she felt a scorching

(a) *Horace* thus speaks of her Chariot :

Hoc delibutis ultra donis pellicem

Serpente fugit alite. *Epod.* III. 13.

(b) As we frequently find at *Corinth* the Name of this *Crown*, *Paulmier de Grantmenil*, thinks it rather was a Title of Dignity, *Κράων*, *Imperans*, than a personal Name, and that he who reigned then in that City was called *Glaucus*, and his Daughter *Glaucé*.

(1) *Paulian.* in *Corinth*. (2) *L.* 4.

he begin to prey upon her; and died in the most
 aflicting Torment. They further added, that *Creon's*
 ce was set on Fire, and he himself consumed in the
 flames; and lastly, that after having torn in Pieces
 two Sons, *Pheres* and *Memercus*, she retired to
 es to *Hercules*, hoping that he would avenge her
 father's Falsehood, in regard that he, with the o-
 ther *Argonauts*, were engaged to see to his keeping
 Oath which he had taken at Marriage, never to
 marry any other Wife but her; but that not being able
 to procure Satisfaction from him, she had repaired to
 us. This again is another Fiction, without all
 foundation. Not to insist upon what is certain, that
Creon died ten or twelve Years after the Return of
Argonauts, as I shall prove elsewhere, I have this
 to say further; it was a current Tradition, that
Corinthians themselves had stoned them to Death,
 to revenge the Death of *Creon*, whom *Me-*
dece was said to have slain, or to put an End to the
 hopes she was still forming for securing the Crown
 of Children. It was *Euripides*, in his Tragedy of
Medea, that propagated the Fable which I am refuting;
 a Mystery which it is proper to explain. The Report
 had been spread on all Hands, of the Cruelty
 used by the *Corinthians* upon *Medea's* Children;
 made them odious to all *Greece*. Therefore, be-
 informed that *Euripides* was designed to bring that
 subject upon the Stage, they made him a Present of
 Talents, to induce him to lay to *Medea's* Charge
 Murder of the young Princes. They had Reason
 to hope that this Fable would gain Credit from the
 character of the Poet who employed it, and would at
 length jostle out a Truth which was little to their Ho-
 nor. For History bore, that these two Princes having
 sought for Refuge to the Temple of *Juno*, surnamed
Peonia, found no Protection from the Sacredness of the
 place, but were assassinated even at the Feet of the
 Idols. The same History added, that some Time
 after, the *Corinthians* being distressed with the Pesti-
 lence, were apprized by the Oracle, that they would

never see an End of their Calamities till they were expiated from the sacrilegious Murder whereof they were guilty. This Fact we learn from *Parmeniscus*, a very ancient Author quoted by the Scholiast on *Euripides*, who added, that the *Corinthians* on that Occasion had instituted a Festival which was still subsisting at the Time when he wrote. The principal Ceremony of this Feast consisted in prohibiting seven young Virgins, and as many Youths, of the principal Families of *Corinth*, from approaching the Territory consecrated to *Juno*, a Prohibition which lasted a Year.

Pausanias, who is as little favourable to the *Corinthians* as *Parmeniscus*, relates the Story somewhat differently; according to him it was not the Pestilence that laid *Corinth* waste, but an epidemical Distemper which destroyed all the Children of the *Corinthians*, until, by the Advice of the Oracle, they instituted Sacrifices in honour of *Medea's* Sons, and consecrated to them a Statue which represented *Fear*; and this Statue was still subsisting in his Time. To give the greater Solemnity to the Reparation the *Corinthians* thought themselves obliged to make to those unfortunate Princes, they made their Children wear Mourning, and cut off their Hair, to a certain Age. 'Tis therefore manifest, that the *Corinthians* alone were guilty; and I am also persuaded, that the Story of the fatal Robe which she had sent to *Glaucé* is another Fiction, as well as the burning of *Creon's* Palace: For when one has a mind to render a Person odious, he takes Care to do the Work not by Halves: Thus, whatever it cost, *Medea* was to be made guilty of all the Crimes could be imagined. Unluckily for the *Corinthians*, History has unravel'd the Truth from among the Fictions wherewith *Euripides* and the other Tragic Poets had disguised it; and Monuments still more certain than History, Feasts, Sacrifices, and Statues, were plain and standing Proofs that reproached the *Corinthians* with a Crime wherewith they endeavoured to blacken *Medea's* Reputation: And if the Fact be as I have now related, as is exceeding probable, it makes
not

not much for the Honour of *Euripides*, who allowed himself to be corrupted by the *Corinthians* for five Talents ; but not to insist here that he may have followed other Traditions, perhaps as well vouched as that which *Parmeniscus* has transmitted to us ; that the Subject, as he has managed it in his Tragedy of *Medea*, seemed to him calculated for raising Terror and Fear, and the other Emotions which the *Drama* requires ; 'tis not so strange as may at first appear, to suppose he would prefer the present Reputation of the *Corinthians*, who suffered still by those Reports, to that of a Princess dead several Ages ago, wherein, probably none interested themselves.

Be that as it will, she removed to *Athens*, where, according to *Ovid* (1), *Egeus* received her, and married her some Time after. *Plutarch* (2), who relates the same Fact, says not that *Egeus* married her, but that she lived with him in a shameful Intimacy, promising him that by her Drugs she would procure him Children. In the mean while *Theseus*, say those Authors, arrived at *Athens* for the first Time ; and *Medea* hearing of his Arrival, and of the Design he had of discovering himself, had such Influence over the Mind of *Egeus*, grown weak with Age, and rendered fearful and suspicious by the different Factions that prevailed in the City, as to persuade him to poison his Son, at a Feast he had provided for him as a Stranger. *Theseus* therefore was invited in his Name. When he was in the Hall, he thought it not proper to declare who he was ; but having a Mind to give his Father an Occasion of making the first Discovery, so soon as the Meat was served up, he drew his Poinard out it up, and having let the Guard of his Sword be seen, on which was *Egeus's* Seal, that Prince knew him, and presently overturned the Cup in which was the Poison, then proposed several Questions to *Theseus*, and after embracing him, made him be acknowledged by all the *Athenians*. *Medea*, by mounting her flying Chariot, escaped the Punishment she deserved.

(1) Met. 1. 7. (2) In Theseo.

Here again is a new Crime with which the Poets thought fit to load the Memory of *Medea*; for this Narration can by no Means be supported. *Egeus* was dead long before *Medea's* Arrival in Greece, having thrown himself down, as has been said (1), from a Precipice upon the Return of his Son from *Crete*, which was *Theseus's* first Expedition after his Discovery. Besides, *Theseus* having been of the Number of the *Argonauts*, how could *Medea* have forgot him after she had made that long Voyage with him? And how is this consistent with what *Plutarch* asserts, as has been already remarked, that this Prince had been in *Colchis*, and at the same Time that he had found *Medea* at her Father's Palace, at his first Departure from *Troizen*? These are some of the Contradictions which Compilers not very exact are apt to fall into.

After this Adventure we hear little more of *Medea*; only *Trogus Pompeius*, as we read in *Justin* (2), had wrote that she crossed the Sea, and returned to *Colchis* with young *Medus* and *Jason*, who was reconciled to her; that there they had re-established *Aetes* upon the Throne from which he had been deposed by a powerful Faction; that *Jason* had made War upon the Enemies of his Father-in-law, had conquered a great Part of the *Lesser Asia*, and at length acquired so great Glory, as to be honoured as a God, some of his Temples being still to be seen in the Time of *Alexander*, which *Ephesus* had demolished, that none might be equalled to his Master. Lastly, That after the Death of *Jason*, *Medus* had built the Town of *Medea* in Honour of his Mother, and had given Name to the *Medes*. But this whole Narration is overthrown by the Greek Traditions, which make *Jason* to have died in *Thessaly*, as we shall see by and by. *Pausanias* (3) says, that Part of *Asia* was denominated *Aria*, and that the Inhabitants were from that Time called *Medes*, from the Name of that Princess. This Author adds further, that the Son whom she carried with her, and whom

(1) The History of *Minos*. (2) L. 4. c. 2 & 3. (3) In *Corinth*.

whom she had by *Egeus*, was called *Medus*; but that *Hellanius* gave him the Name of *Polixenes*, and made him the Son of *Jason*.

The *Greeks*, according to the same Author, had old Pieces of Poetry which they called *Naupaetian*, from their Author *Carcinus*, of the City *Naupaetus*, where it was said, that *Jason*, after the Death of *Pelias*, had quitted *Iolchos* to go and settle at *Corcyra*, and had lost there his eldest Son *Memercus*, who had been torn in Pieces by a Lioness, as he was diverting himself in hunting, in that Part of the Continent which is opposite to the City; but they give no Account of *Pherus* his other Son. There were also in *Greece* ancient Genealogies of one named *Cinetbo* a *Lacedemonian*, where it was said that *Jason* had by *Medea* a Son *Medus*, and a Daughter *Eriopis*; but neither of these Authors said any Thing of *Medea* and *Jason's* having resided at *Corinth*, which was so plainly set forth in the History of *Eumelus* which we have mentioned; who, besides what has been said, added, that after the Death of *Bunus*, to whom *Aetes* had given in Trust his Property in the City *Epbyre*. *Poppæus*, the Son of *Alceus*, having ascended the Throne, and *Corinthus*, the Son of *Marathon*, who changed the Name of the City *Epbyre* to that of *Corinth*, having succeeded him, and having left no Male Issue, the *Corinthians* had sent for *Medea* from *Iolchos*, as has been said. The same Author added that *Medea* had several Children by *Jason*, whom she carefully concealed in *Juno's* Temple, hoping thereby to procure them Immortality; that at length being baulked of this Expectation, and seeing that *Jason*, incensed against her, had returned to *Iolchos*, she had formed a Resolution to leave *Corinth*, as has been already related.

As to the last Years of *Jason*, all we know is that he led an unsettled Life, without any fixed Residence; and that as he was one Day resting himself upon the Seashore, under the Shelter of the Ship *Argo*, which had been laid up, he was there crushed to Death by the Fall of a Beam which was loosened from it, an

Event said to be foretold him by *Medea*, as *Euripides* reports.

To conclude: It is not without Reason that I have not represented *Medea* as criminal as Authors commonly make her; having good Vouchers for my Opinion among the Antients. I presume that I have sufficiently overthrown, and that by formal Authorities, the odious Facts that are laid to her Charge. I may further add, that the only Thing for which she can be blamed, is for having left her Father and Mother to follow a Stranger; but besides that it was a Relation she followed, who was become her Husband, we are told that her Departure was forced and involuntary, being hated both by her Father and Mother because she was of a humane beneficent Disposition. They tell us further, it was this generous Temper prompted her to befriend the *Argonauts*, who, but for her, must all have perished. The antient Scholiast on *Euripides* confirms this Opinion of *Diodorus*, and other Authors, when he says *Medea* was highly in Favour with the *Corinthians*, for having delivered them from a grievous Famine by Means of her Inchantments; that is, by the Resources her extensive Knowledge had found out for bringing about a good Harvest.

Ovid himself, who seems to have so little Favour for her, after he has put the most virtuous Sentiments in her Mouth, before she gave Way to her growing Inclination towards *Jason*, makes her utter those remarkable Words before quoted.

C H A P. VI.

The History of Hercules.

THAT there were several *Hercules's* is a Thing not to be doubted. *Diodorus Siculus* reckons three of them: The first an *Egyptian*, who travelled into *Africa*, and raised those famous Pillars near *Cadix*, to give Notice to Voyagers that they were not to attempt

tempt to go farther (a). The second was born in *Crete*, among the *Idæi Daëtyli*; he it was, according to the same Author, that instituted the *Olympic Games*. The last was the Son of *Jupiter* and *Alcmæna*; he was born at *Thebes*, and signalized himself by a thousand Labours. He might have added a fourth, more ancient than the others, namely, the *Phœnician*. *Cicero* (1) reckons there were six of them. The first, according to that Author, was the Son of *Jupiter* and *Lyfidice*. The second is the *Egyptian Hercules*, sprung from the *Nile*. The third was one of the *Daëtyli* of Mount *Ida*. The fourth was the Son of *Jupiter* and *Asteria*, the Sister of *Latona*, and this is he whom the *Tyrians* worshipped. The fifth is the *Indian* surnamed *Belus*. In fine, the sixth is the Son of *Alcmæna*. There are *Greek Authors* who reckon to the Number of Forty three of them, either because several Persons did themselves the Honour to assume so illustrious a Name, or rather because *Hercules* was not a proper Name, but an Appellative, derived perhaps from the *Phœnician* Word *Harokel*, which signifies *Merchant*, as has been proved some Years ago by the learned *M. le Clerc* (2), who alledges that this Name was formerly given to the famous *Traders* who went to discover new Countries, and to plant Colonies there, frequently signalizing themselves no less by purging them from the wild Beasts that infested them, than by the Commerce they established there; which, no doubt, was the Source of antient Heroism and War (a). Thus it appears that the Word *Hercules* was only the Surname of the *Hercules's* we have mentioned: For the *Tyrian* was called *Thasius*; the *Phœnician*, *Desanaus*, or *Agenor*; the *Grecian* (b), *Alceus*, or *Alcides*; the *Egyptian*, who was

contem-

(a) See what has been said from the same Author, in the Article of *Osiris*, Vol. I.

(1) *De Nat. Deor.* l. 3. (2) *Bibl. Univers.* Tom. 2.

(a) See what the Bible says of *Nimrod*, that first Heroe and Conqueror: It calls him, *Fortis Venator coram Domino*. A mighty Hunter before the Lord.

(b) *Diodorus* is of Opinion that *Alcides* was called *Hercules*, that is, the Glory of *Juno*, not till after he had in the Cradle squeezed two Serpents to Death, which *Juno* had sent to devour him.

contemporary with *Osiris*, and General of his Troops, *Oschor*, or *Chon*; the *Indian*, *Dorfanet*; and the *Gaul*, *Ogmion*.

But 'tis to be observed that the *Greeks* have filled up the History of the *Theban Hercules* with the Exploits of all the rest, with those numerous Travels mentioned by the Poets who have written his Life, and with so many Adventures, for which the Life of no one Man would be sufficient: Here is his History.

Perseus had by *Andromeda*, *Alceus* (1), *Sthenelus*, *Hillas*, *Mejtor*, *Electrion*, and a Daughter named *Gorgophone*, who, as has been said elsewhere, was married to *Perieres*. *Alceus* having married *Hippomona*, the Daughter of *Menecus*, had two Children by her; namely, *Amphitryo* and his Sister *Anaxo*. To *Mejtor* and *Lyfidice*, the Daughter of *Pelops*, was born *Hippothoe*, who, having been ravished by *Neptune*, that is, by some Pirate, was conveyed into the *Eschinades* Islands, where she had a Son named *Tapbius*, who led a Colony to *Taphos*, the Inhabitants whereof he afterwards called *Teleboans*, to denote that they had settled far from their own Country. To this *Tapbius* was born *Pterelas*, who had several Male Children (a), and a Daughter named *Cometo*.

Electrion married his Niece *Anaxo*, the Daughter of *Alceus*, and of this Marriage was born *Alcmena* (b). From *Sthenelus* and *Micippe*, the Daughter of *Pelops*, sprung *Alcinoe*, *Medusa*, and *Fiarellheus*, who was afterwards King of *Mycene*. *Tapbius* being dead, *Pterelas*

(1) *Apollod.* l. 2. *Diod.* &c.

(a) Namely, *Chromius*, *Tyrannus*, *Anticlus*, *Cherfes*, *Damas*, *Mejtor* and *Eweres*.

(b) *Plutarch.* in the Life of *Thales*, delineates *Alcmena's* Genealogy otherwise: He says she was the Daughter of *Lyfidice* and the Scholiast upon *Plutarch.* Ode 17. *Olymp.* agrees with *Plutarch.* *Euripides*, in the Tragedy of the *Hercules*, *Servius* upon the fifth Book of the *Aeneid*, and *Dionorus Siculus*, l. 4. plainly make *Alcmena* descended from *Pelops*: but the two first name not her Mother, and the last calls her *Euryneides*. But *Apollodorus*, B.M. l. 2. is of a quite different Opinion: for he makes the Mother of this Princess *Anaxo*, the Daughter of *Alceus*.

relas sent his Children to *Mycenæ* to demand of their Grand-uncle *Electrion*, who was King thereof, that Share of their Grandfather *Mestor's* Estate which belonged to them. That Prince having refused to satisfy their Claim, they ravaged the Country, and carried away his Flocks. Upon which, the Sons of *Electrion* drew together their Troops, and gave them Battle, where both the one and the other lost their Lives. *Lycimachus*, the natural Son of *Electrion*, a Prince then but very young, remained alone to carry the News thereof to his Father; and on *Pterelas's* Side, there was none escaped the sad Fate of the Brothers but *Eve-res*, who had the Care of the Ships, who having put the rest of his Troops on board with those of *Electrion*, repaired to his own Country.

The King of *Mycenæ*, before he set about revenging the Death of his Children, left the Government of his Kingdom, with his Daughter *Alcmena*, to *Amphitryo* his Nephew, promising to give her to him in Marriage upon his Return. As he actually returned victorious, and was bringing back his Cows, *Amphitryo* was going to have stopped one of them which had got away, and threw after her his Club, which lighted upon *Electrion*, and slew him. This Murder, tho' involuntary, was the Mean of that young Prince's losing the Kingdom of *Mycenæ*; for *Sthenelus*, the Brother of the Deceased, taking Advantage of the public Odium which *Amphitryo* had incurred by this Accident, expelled him from the whole Country of the *Argives*, and made himself Master of *Mycenæ*, where his Son *Euristheus* reigned after him. *Amphitryo*, forced to retire to *Thebes*, was received there by *Creon*; but his Cousin *Alcmena*, whom he had brought along with him, not being satisfied with the Vengeance which her Father had taken upon the *Teleboans*, declared that she would marry him who should declare War upon them. *Amphitryo*, who was passionately in love with her, accepted the Proposal, and having struck up an Alliance with *Cephalus*, *Anceus*, *Creon*, and some other neighbouring Princes, went and laid waste the Islands of

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of the *Taphians*. But while *Pterelas* was alive, he was not able to take *Taphos*; but *Cometo* his Daughter being enamoured of *Amphitryo*, or, according to others, of *Cephalus*, and having cut the fatal Hair on which her Father's Destiny depended; that is, having conspired with his Enemies, this unfortunate Prince lost his Life. *Amphitryo* having thereby become Master of the Isles of the *Taphians*, gave them to *Cephalus* and *Eleus*, who built Cities therein, put *Cometo* to Death, and returned loaded with Spoils and Booty (a). Hear how *Plautus* makes *Amphitryo* speak in Reference to this :

*Ego idem ille sum Amphitryo---qui
Acarnanios & Taphios vi vici, & summâ Regum
Virtute bellica. Illisce præfeci Cephalum
Magni Dionei filium. Amph. Act. 4.*

It was during this War that *Hercules* was born; and whether *Amphitryo* had consummated his Marriage before he set out, or whether he had returned to *Thebes incognito*, or to *Tyrinthia*, where *Hercules* is thought to have been born, it passed current that *Jupiter* was this young Prince's Father, and that he had imposed upon *Alcmena*, by assuming the Figure of her Husband; a Fable which was propagated to cloak some Intrigue of *Alcmena*; or perhaps *Jupiter* was afterwards given out to be *Alcides's* Father, instead of *Amphitryo*, only upon account of his Valour; and 'tis very probable that it is to be understood in this last Sense, since *Seneca* thus brings in *Hercules* himself speaking of his Birth: "Whether this whole Story
" be taken for Truth, or for a mere Fiction, and my
" Father be really but a mere Mortal, my Mother's
" Infamy is sufficiently wiped off by my Valour; nor
" am I unworthy to be *Jupiter's* Son (b)."

To

(a) See the History of *Theſeus*, where the like Adventure beſel *Minos*.

(b) *Virtute noſtra pellicem feci, tuam
Credo Nevercam, ſive naſcente Hercule.*

To this Fable it was added, that on the Day of his Nativity loud Peals of Thunder had been heard, and several other Prodigies seen (a).

To the same Purpose it was given out, that the Night on which *Jupiter* counterfeited *Amphitryo* had been prolonged. *Lycophron* says it lasted the Space of three Nights, and others extend it even to nine. *Hyginus* (b) and *Seneca* describe this Fable, as also *Plautus* (c) in his *Amphitryo*.

Some Authors say this Princess was delivered of Twins, of whom the one, *Iphicles*, passed for the Son of *Amphitryo*, and the other, *Alcides*, claimed *Jupiter* for his Father; and tho' they had been conceived at three Months Distance the one from the other, yet they were born on the same Day. 'Tis thus that *Plautus* makes *Mercury* speak of them (d).

But

*Nox illa certa est, fove mortalis meus
Pater est; licet si falsa progenies mihi,
Materna culpa cesset & crimen Jovis;
Merui parentem, contuli caelo decus.*

Sen. de Herc. Oeteo. Aët. 4.

(a)

Ibi continuo contonat

*Sonitu maximo. Aedes Primo rueret rebamur tuas,
Aedes totæ consulgebant tuæ quasi essent auræ.*

Plaut. Amph. Aët. 5. Sc. 1.

(b) *Amphitryon cum abesset ad oppugnandam Oecaliæ, Alcmena existimans Jovem conjugem suum esse, eum thalamis suis recepit; qui cum in thalamos venisset, & ei referret quæ in Oecaliæ gessisset, ea credens conjugem esse cum eo concubuit. — Postea cum nunciaretur ei conjugem victorem esse, minime curavit, quod putabat se conjugem suum vidisse. Qui cum in Regiam intrasset, & videret negligentius secutam, mirari cæpit & queri quod se advenientem non recepisset.* Hygin.

(c)

*Cui lege mundi Jupiter rupta
Rosidæ noctis geminavit boras,
Jussitque Phæbum tardive celeres
Agitare currus; & tuas lente
Remeare bigas, candida Phæbe!
Retulitque pedem, alternis nomen
Stellæque mutat, seque mirata est
Hesperum dici. Aurora movit
Ad solitas vices caput, & relabens
Imposuit senis humero mariti.* Senec. Amph. Aët. 4.

(d) *Hodie illa pariet filios geminos duos:*

Alter

But this I take to be another Fiction, owing to this that the two first of *Alcmena's* Children had been confounded together, the one of them being born during the War of the *Teleboans*, and the other but a short while after ; unless we choose to think, that she was really delivered of Twins.

To proceed, I am of Opinion that there was no Foundation for the Fable of *Jupiter's* having made the Night in which he lay with *Alcmena* longer than others : At least, this Event put nothing in Nature out of Order, since the Day that followed it was proportionably shorter, as the same *Plautus* remarks :

*Atque quanto nox fuisti longior hac proxima,
Tanto brevior dies ut fiat faciam, ut aequè disparet,
Et dies e nocte accedat.* Ibid. Ac. i. Sc. 3.

As for *Galanthis*, *Alcmena's* Slave, whom *Ovid* makes to have been transformed into a Weasel, for having imposed upon *Juno*, (who in the Disguise of an old Woman, planted herself near *Amphitryon's* Palace, in a fit Posture, as she thought, to retard *Alcmena's* Delivery) by making her believe that her Mistress was brought to bed ; this is an Episode invented to set the Resentment of *Juno* in a stronger Light, As to which, however, we may add, that Similitude of Names had given Rise to the Transformation ; and the pretended Punishment which *Juno* is said to have taken on that new Animal, by condemning it to bring forth its Young by the Mouth, this is only an Allusion to a popular Error, which has no other Foundation, but that the Weasel is almost always bearing about its Young in its Mouth, continually shifting them from Place to Place. *Eliau* says the *Thebans* worshipped this little Animal (1), because it had facilitated *Alcmena's* Labours.

What-

*Alter decimo post mense nascitur puer
Quom̃ feminatus, alter mense septimo.
Eorum Amphitryonis alter est, alter Jovis.*

*Alcmenæ hujus bovis gratia
Pater curavit uno ut factu feret.
Uno ut labore absolveret ærumnas duos.*

(1) De Anim.

Whatever be in that, *Amphitryo*, who was of the Race of *Perseus*, and sole Heir to *Electrion* by his Wife, ought to have succeeded to the Kingdom of *Mycena*, and his Son *Hercules* after him ; but having slain his Father-in-law, as has been said, he was obliged to retire to *Thebes*, and by that means *Sthenelus* became sole King of *Mycena*, and after him his Son *Eurystheus*, who was born at the same time with *Hercules*. Thus our Heroe became Subject, and as it were Slave to that King ; tho' others will have it, that he was subjected to him by the Oracle of *Delphi*, upon account of the Murder of his Children, whom he slew in the Rage of his Madness (2), since he might have exempted himself from Subjection to the King of *Mycena*, being under the Protection of *Creon*, whose Daughter he had married.

This is the Source of the Fables of the Jealousy of *Juno*, who had retarded *Alcmena's* Delivery, to gain Time for *Eurystheus* to come first into the World, and consequently to command the other, as by Right of Seniority. *Homer* relates this Fact with an Air of the Marvellous, which he knows so well to give his Narrations :

*Hear me, ye Sons of Greece! with Silence bear,
And grant your Monarch an impartial Ear :
A while your loud, untimely Joy suspend,
And let your rash injurious Clamours end :
Unruly Murmurs, or ill-tim'd Applause,
Wrong the best Speaker, and the justest Cause.
Nor charge on me, ye Greeks, the dire Debate ;
Know, angry Jove, and all-compelling Fate,
With fell Erinnyes, urg'd my Wrath that Day,
When from Achilles' Arms I forc'd the Prey.
What then could I, against the Will of Heaven ?
Not by myself, but vengeful Ate driv'n ;
She, Jove's dread Daughter, forc'd to infest
The Race of Mortals, enter'd in my Breast.*

Not

(1) Sup. to Vell.

*Not on the Ground that haughty Fury treads,
 But prints her lofty Footsteps on the Heads
 Of mighty Men; inflicting as she goes
 Long-fest'ring Wounds, inextricable Woes!
 Of old, she stalk'd amid the bright Abodes;
 And Jove himself, the Sire of Men and Gods,
 The World's great Ruler, felt her venom'd Dart;
 Deceiv'd by Juno's Wiles, and female Art.
 For when Alcmena's nine long Months were run,
 And Jove expected his immortal Son;
 To Gods and Goddesses th' unruly Joy
 He show'd, and vaunted of his matchless Boy:
 From us (he said) this Day an Infant springs,
 Fated to rule, and born a King of Kings.
 Saturnia ask'd an Oath to vouch the Truth,
 And fix Dominion on the favour'd Youth!
 The Thund'rer, unsuspicious of the Fraud,
 Pronounc'd those solemn Words that bind a God.
 The Joyful Goddess, from Olympus' Height,
 Swift to Achaian Argos bent her Flight;
 Scarce sev'n Moons gone, lay Sthenelus's Wife,
 She push'd her ling'ring Infant into Life:
 Her Charms Alcmena's coming Labours stay,
 And stop the Babe, just issuing to the Day.
 Then bids Saturnius bear his Oath in Mind;
 " A Youth (said she) of Jove's immortal Kind,
 " Is this Day born: From Sthenelus he springs,
 " And claims thy Promise to be King of Kings."
 Grief seiz'd the Thund'rer, by his Oath engag'd;
 Stung to the Soul, he sorrow'd, and he rag'd.
 From his ambrosial Head, where perch'd she sate,
 He snatch'd the Fury-Goddess of Debate,
 The dread, th'irrevocable Oath he swore,
 Th'immortal Seats should ne'er behold her more,
 And whirl'd her headlong down, for ever driv'n
 From bright Olympus, and the starry Heav'n:
 Thence on the nether World the Fury fell;
 Ordain'd with Man's Contentious Race, to dwell,
 Full oft the God his Son's hard Toils bemoan'd,
 Curs'd the dire Fury, and in secret groan'd.*

Pope's Iliad xix. 81, &c.

Hence

Hence also came all the Heroism of *Alcides* : For *Eurystheus*, jealous of his Reputation, enjoined him those immense Labours which gave him an Opportunity to display his Valour and Courage ; that Prince, notwithstanding their Affinity, (for they were Cousin-germans) having persecuted him without Intermission, or, to speak more properly, that political King who was afraid lest he should be dethroned by the brave *Alcides*, who had a Title to the Crown, took Care to cut out Work for our Heroe, during his whole Life, by employing him in Enterprizes equally artful and dangerous ; which was no difficult Matter at a Time when *Greece* was no less over-run with Robbers and Free-booters, who had seized upon the High-ways, than with Lions, Boars, and other wild Beasts. The Extirpation of these Monsters employed the whole Life of our Heroe, who commanded the Troops of *Eurystheus*, as is exprelly said by *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* ; and these are the pretended Persecutions enjoined by jealous *Juno's* Counsel, that is, by the Influence and Policy of the King of *Mycenæ*.

Alcides was brought up at the Court of *The Madneſs*
Creon King of *Thebes*, who took great Care of *Hercules*.
to cultivate his Genius ; and this young Prince having from the earliest Years given Marks of Valour, and especially of a good Disposition (1), by making War upon the Tyrant *Erginus*, to deliver his Country from the Tribute it payed to him (a), *Creon* gave him in Marriage his Daughter *Megara*, by whom he had some Children ; but when he understood that he was obliged to be subjected to the Orders of *Eurystheus*, he fell into such a Fit of Madneſs, that he ſlew his Couſin *Iolas*, and even his own Sons without knowing them ; which threw him afterwards into ſuch Melancholy that he left *Thebes*, and after receiving Expiation for the Murder at *Athens*, went in queſt of *Euryſtheus*.

Those who gave Account of this sad Event took
VOL. IV. G Care,

(1) *Liodor. l. i.*

(a) It was in this War that *Amphiarauſ* died.

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Care, in support of the Fable of his Birth, to ascribe his Madness to *Juno's* Jealousy: *Aristotle* is of Opinion, that he was under the Influence of a melancholy Humour, others think he was subject to the Epilepsy, or to some Fits of Madness. We are told farther, that *Pallas* having thrown a Stone made him fall asleep; which probably signifies that the wise Precautions of his Friends, and their Remedies, restored him to the Use of his Reason (a). He gave *Megara* afterwards to another *Iolas*, the great Companion of his Travels, from a Persuasion that his Marriage with her could not but be fatal.

In his most tender Years, and perhaps in his first *An Explication of Expedition, Alcides* slew some Ser-
Hercules's Labours. pents: It was given out afterwards that this Adventure happened to him, when yet in the Cradle, and that the Goddess *Juno* sent them to devour him (b). *Plautus* adds, that these two Serpents left the young *Ipbiclus* the Brother of *Hercules* go to him; and that as soon as he had seen them, he started up from his Cradle, and squeezed them to Death; whereby he was known to be the Son of *Jupiter* (c). Thus it was thought fit by poetical Exaggerations to embellish the Infancy of this Heroe.

The Chace which he gave to some Lions of the *The Lion Nemean Forest*, among which was one of
of Nemea. an overgrown Size, which he slew himself, and whose Skin he wore, was the first of the twelve Labours that have been so much celebrated. To make this Fact the more memorable, it was afterwards fabled that this Lion was ranked among the Stars (1). Several Kings of *Syria*, or of the *Seleucides*, as also the
Hera-

(a) Some Authors tell us, that *Pallas* threw this Stone at him, when he was going to kill *Amphitryo* his Father.

(b) *Cunarum labor est angues superare mearum, Ovid. Met. l. 9.*
Par ut erat, manibusque suis Tyrinthus Heros,
Preffit, & in canis jam Jove dignus erat. Id. de Art. Am.

(c) *Citius è cunis exiit, facit recta in angues impetum*
Alterum altera apprehendit; eos manu perniciter
Puer ambo angues enecat. Plaut. Amph. Act. 5.

(1) *Manilius Aeginus, &c.*

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Heracles from whom they descended, affected frequently to wear this Skin. According to *Pausanias* (1), there was still to be seen in his Time, in the Mountains that are between *Cleone* and *Argos*, the Cave into which that Lion had retired, which is only at the Distance of fifteen Furlongs from the Town of *Nemæa*.

The same Heroe delivered also *Arcadia* from another Calamity which laid it waste; namely, from the Birds of the *Stymphalic* Lake, which are thus described in *Lucretius* (2):

— — — *Uncisque timendæ*
Unguibus Arcadiæ volucres Stymphalæ colentes.

We are told, that *Hercules* banished them out of the Country by pursuing them with a loud Noise. *Mnæseus* explains this Fable, by telling us there were Robbers laid waste the Country, and robbed Passengers in the Confines of the Lake *Stymphalus* in *Arcadia*. These *Hercules* with his Companions destroyed; hence the Fable of the Birds *Stymphalides*, whom this Heroe is said to have banished, having invented a kind of brazen Timbrals to fright them away, and which are said to have been given him by *Minerva*. The crooked Talons that are given them, are perfectly applicable to Robbers, as well as the Wings, the Head and Iron Beak which *Timagnetes* gives them, with Javelins of the same Metal, which they darted at those who attacked them, as we are told by *Euripides* and *Claudian* (a); the Import of which is, that they were armed with Lances and Javelins. We are told further, that they were trained up by the God *Mars*, to intimate that they were very warlike. *Hercules* found a Way to dislodge them from the Woods where they sheltered themselves, by affrighting them with the Sound of his Timbrals, and thus cut them off.

We may remark by the Way that *Natalis Comes* is
G 2 mistaken

(1) In Corinth. (2) L. 3.

(a) *Audierunt memorande tuas Stymphalæ volucres,
Spicula vulnifico quondam sparsisse volatu.* Claud.

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mistaken (1), in confounding the Birds *Stymphalides* with the *Harpies*, since *Petronius*, not to mention others, so plainly distinguishes them :

*Tales Herculeâ Stymphalides arte cruentas
Ad cælum fugisse reor, pennaque fluentes
Harpypias, cum Pbineo maduere veneno
Fallaces epulæ, &c. (a).*

Tho' to say the Truth, the Antiquaries are very much divided about some Birds which occur upon Monuments and Medals, and which some take for *Harpies*, others for the *Stymphalides*.

The Fens of *Lerna* near *Argos* were infected with several Serpents that seemed to multiply as fast as they were destroyed : *Hercules*, with the Assistance of his Friends, cleared the Fens of them entirely, set Fire to them to burn the Reeds, and thus made the Place habitable and fertile, and this perhaps is what made *Ptolomy Ephestion* say, as we are told by *Photius*, that the Heads of the *Hydra* were of Gold : An ingenious Symbol of the Fertility which our Heroe procured to a Place before inaccessible. It is no doubt for the same Reason that *Euripides*, in his Tragedy intitled *Ion*, says, the Scythe which this Heroe made use of to cut off the Heads of that Monster was of Gold. *Apollodorus* adds, that whenever *Hercules* lop'd off one of the Monsters Heads, *Iolaus* his Companion set Fire to it, lest the Blood that sprung from it should produce a new one. Wherein he only copies the Poet now quoted ; and thus was that Event actually represented in a fine Picture that was in the Temple of *Delphi* (2). Perhaps among those Serpents there was one of that kind which the *Greeks* call *Hydros*, being of a very venomous Nature ; which might give rise to the Fable of the *Hydra*. It is to be re-
marked

(1) L. 7. c. 6.

(a) Consult besides the Poets, *Pausanias*, in *Arcad.* and the Scholiast on *Appollonius*, upon the 105th Verse of the 11th Book of his *Argonaut.*

(2) Eurip.

marked that *Hercules* dipt his Arrows in the Blood of this Serpent, or rather, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, *Eschyles*, *Hyginus*, and several others, in its Gall, which was the most venomous Part of its Body; which communicated to them a poisonous Quality, as appears from the Wound given to *Nessus*, whom we shall speak of very soon, and from that of *Philoctetes* who was diseased ten Years for having had one of them fall upon his Foot.

Servius gives another Explication of the Fable of the *Hydra*; he says what gave rise to it was that from the Fens of *Lerna* issued several Torrents which flooded all the Country; that *Hercules* drained them, planted Moles, and made Canals to carry off the Water. I have read some where (a), that this Fable was owing to seven Brothers who lived upon Plunder, and used to shelter themselves in the Fens of *Lerna*, whence none was able to dislodge them. *Hercules* first slew one of them, then the other six, by drawing them two by two to the Fight. This possibly might have given the Poets a Handle to say that the *Hydra* had seven Heads; but they are not very consistent upon this Article. *Simonides* says it had ninety. According to *Alceus* it had fifty; and others give it only five. *Pausanias* says it is very possible that the Blood of the *Hydra* poisoned *Hercules's* Arrows; but he cannot persuade himself that it had many Heads, this being a Circumstance, he says, which had been added to make the Monster still more terrible, it having been first represented in that Manner by *Pisander* of *Camira* in the Island of *Rhodes*, to give a greater Air of the Marvellous to his Poetry; probably in the Poem he had composed upon Fables, as we read in *Macrobius*.

Plato thinks that by the *Hydra*, the Poets intended a Sophist of *Lerna*, who let loose his envenomed Tongue against *Hercules*; and that by the Heads that grew again, are figured his Fruitfulness in producing fallacious Arguments, wherewith that kind of People

(a) Hist. Mem. of the *Moraa*, by M. Corcelli, after *Tzetzes*.

never fail to support their Sophistry. Others will have it, that by the *Hydra* and its fifty Heads, we are to understand a Citadel defended by fifty Men under the Command of *Lernus* their King; and they explain the Fable of the *Crab* defending the *Hydra*, by saying that a Prince of that Name aided his Ally against *Hercules* and *Iolaus* who besieged it, and that those two Heroes were forced to set fire to the Citadel before they could make themselves Masters of it (1). As all the Incidents of this Heroe's Life were related in an extraordinary and fabulous Manner, we learn from *Hyginus*, that *Juno* seeing *Hercules* ready to overcome the *Hydra*, had sent a Sea-Crab which bit him in the Foot, and that it being slain by the Heroe, was placed by the Goddess among the Stars, where it forms the Sign of the *Crab*. But of all these Explications, the first, importing that *Hercules* had drained the Fens of *Lerna*, is the most natural, and probably the only true one. The *Abbé Fourmond*, who in his Travels to the *Morea* visited this Place, says it is still quite Fenny and full of Reeds.

The Wood of *Erymanthus* was full of Boars which *The Boar of* made great Desolation in the Country: *Erymanthus*. *Hercules* was employed to give Chase to them; which he did with such Success, that having with his own Hands slain the largest of them, he made a Present of it to *Eurystheus*. To embellish this Event, they added that *Hercules* bore it upon his Shoulders, and that the Sight of this struck such a Terror into the King of *Mycenæ*, that he went and hid himself in a brazen Cask. Perhaps the good-natured *Eurystheus* was not very stout, and believing the Boar not quite dead, fled into his Chamber and lock'd himself up. The Teeth of this frightful Boar were a long Time preserved in the Temple of *Apollo*.

Hercules having for a whole Year been in pursuit of *The Hind with the* a Hind, which *Eurystheus* had en-
Brazen Feet. joined him to bring to him alive, they fabled afterwards that it had brazen Feet; a figurative Expression,

(1) *Lylio Giraldi de Hercule.*

Expressi^{on}, intimating the Swiftne^ss with which it run. We are told further that it had Horns of Gold; tho' whatever the Poets may say, 'tis certain Does have no Horns.

King *Augias* had so many Herds of Cattle, that not having Stables enough to contain them, he was obliged to leave them in the open Field; and his Lands were at last so overstock'd with Dung, that they became entirely barren. *Hercules*, with the Assistance of his Troops, made the River *Alpheus* to pass thro' them, and thus restored them to their wonted Fruitfulness: Hence the Fable of *Augias's Stables*. That Prince, as we read in *Diodorus Siculus* (1), having a Mind to defraud him of what he had promised, *Hercules* sought an Opportunity of being revenged on him; and having found *Eurytus*, whom his Father was sending to *Corinth* to celebrate the *Isthmic* Games, put him to Death. Then he set out for *Elis*, and cut off *Augias* himself; substituting in his room his Son *Pbileus*, who having been chosen Arbitrator, had advised his Father to reward *Alcides* for so important a Piece of Service. It was during this Work, which he performed with the Troops he had attending him, as we learn from *Pausanias* (2), that he was obliged with *Minerva's* Aid to fight with *Pluto*, incensed against him for having carried off from Hell the Dog *Cerberus*, and that he wounded the God. The *Eleans*, in Proof of this, cited the Verses of *Homer*, where that Poet actually says the God of Hell was wounded upon that Occasion with an Arrow, by which he suffered grievous Pain. But if we would set aside the Allegory, we may suppose that *Aidoneus* the King of *Tbesprotia*, came to the Assistance of the *Eleans*, to defend them against *Hercules's* Army, who, in order to be revenged of *Augias's* Perfidiousness, had made War upon them.

The Island of *Crete* had a Breed of Bulls remarkably beauteous, and *Eurystheus* being desirous to have some of that Race, ordered our

Pasiphae's Bull.

Heroe to go and fetch him the fattest of them, which accordingly he did. This was given out afterwards to be the same with that of *Pasiphae*.

Diomedes having very fine Mares, *Eurystheus* enjoined *Diomedes's* *Hercules* to go and carry off some of Mares. them. *Diomedes* offering to resist him, was slain in the Scuffle; and as that Prince had ruined himself by breeding Horses, and had sold for that Effect his very Slaves, hence it was fabled that his Mares were fed with human Flesh, as we read in *Palepbatus* (1), and perhaps what contributed to the Fable, is, that they had actually devoured a young Man. Some Authors explain this Fable of *Diomedes's* Daughters, who fattened themselves at the Expence of the Victims, which their Lust enticed to the Court of their Father (2), who prostituted them to Strangers.

Hercules in his way to *Spain* sacked the Island of *Cos*; *The Defeat* then he defeated the famous *Geryon* who of *Geryon*. had three Bodies, and carried away his Flocks; that is, he with his Army, (for he was very well accompanied both in this, and his other Expeditions, as good Authors remark) defeated either a Prince who reigned over three Islands, *Majorca*, *Minorca*, and *Ebusa*, or according to others, over *Tartessus*, *Cadiz*, and *Eurithia*; or else three Princes in Alliance, who were considered as one Person, so closely were they united; which comes to *M. le Clerc's* Explanation (a), who will have it that *Hercules* defeated three small Armies made up of the Inhabitants of that Country. *Hesiod* says, this *Geryon* was the Son of *Chrysaor*, sprung from the Blood of *Medusa*, as we have already said elsewhere. If we may believe the learned *Bochart* (b), *Geryon* reigned not in *Spain*, but in *Epirus*, and there it was that *Hercules* defeated him, and carried away his Oxen. For, says that Author, besides

(1) L. 4. (2) Erasmus in Adagiis.

(a) *M. le Clerc* upon *Hesiod*, says, the Phenician Phrase, wherein occurred the Word *Griana*, and whose Sense was that *Hercules* had defeated three Armies, had given Rise to the Fable of *Geryon*.

(b) Consult for this *Bochart*, *Loc. Cit.* and *Fassus* upon *Sylax*.

that this famous *Greek* never was in *Spain*, it is not so much as known in his Time. *Coleus* of *Carthage*, who lived near a hundred Years after, was the first who travelled thither, or rather was driven thither by a Storm; and besides the Pastures of *Euribia* not proper for feeding Oxen. Accordingly *Strabo* speaking of that Island, makes no Mention of him; and that the *Greeks* say of the Travels of their *Hero* to *Spain* and *Cadiz*, is a Fable.

Bochart's Opinion is not founded, like most others upon bare Conjectures, or upon Analogy drawn from the Oriental Languages: It is supported by the testimony of the Antients. *Hecateus*, cited by *Arrian* says *Geryon* was King of *Epirus*; that the said Country had excellent Pastures, and fed great Herds of Oxen; and that it was from thence *Hercules* carried off the Oxen of *Geryon*. *Eustatbius*, upon *Dionysius Periegetes* says the same Thing, and *Pindar* in his fourth *Nemean* Ode speaks of the Pastures and Horses of *Epirus*. These may perhaps incline the Reader to adopt the Conjecture of *Bochart*, who says *Epirus* took its Name from the Hebrew Word *Abiri*, as much as to say the Land of Horses and Oxen: But whether it does or no, still it must be owned there is no Likelihood that *Hercules* went to a remote Country in quest of the Oxen: *Epirus*, at a Time when it was not well peopled, when Voyages were hazardous, Navigation full of Danger, was reckoned a Country remote from the eastern Provinces of *Greece*, as *Beotia*; it was to the *Greeks* the Extremity of the World, the *Hesperia*, the Country where the Sun set, and which was the Seat of Hell and the infernal Gods. These Notions were apt enough to signalize the Voyages of that Heroe, and to make it be considered a very hazardous Enterprize (a).

Let that be as it will, *Hercules* having travelled from *Epirus* to *Italy* (b), there defeated certain Robbers,

Hecateus, cited by *Arrian*, de *Rap. Alex.* says the same. See the Passage in *Grant-menil's Greece*, p. 441.

For *Hercules's* having travelled into *Italy*, we have several Testimonies in the 8th Chapter of *Theodorus Ryckius's* Dissert.

bers, among others one *Cacus*, whose Retreat was in the *Aventine Mount*, and who was even so daring as to steal his Oxen. *Caca* discovered her Brother to *Hercules*, who put him to death, as we learn from *Titus Livius* (1) and *Servius* (2). *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* (3) thus relates this Adventure. *Hercules* having arrived with his Troops in *Italy*, while he was waiting for his Fleet to return to *Greece*, made several Conquests upon the People its antient Inhabitants, and several among them were glad to submit to his Authority. The Heroe, satisfied with what he had atchieved, and reckoning that all was quiet, had encamped in 'a negligent Manner, with a Design to rest himself from his Labours, when *Cacus*, a petty Tyrant. who dwelt in Rocks inaccessible, surprized him by Night, and carried off from him a Part of his Booty. *Hercules* pursued him, block'd him up in his strong Hold, and as he made a stout Resistance, he lost his Life. *Hercules's* Soldiers, with the Troops that had come to our Heroe's Assistance under the Conduct of *Evander*, shared *Cacus's* Spoils. *Hercules*, continues the same Author, after having purged *Italy*, disbanded a Part of his Troops, and divided the conquered Lands among his Allies and Soldiers, who settled in the Country, united with the *Aborigines*, and lived with them in perfect Harmony. The Foundation whereof was this.

Evander, an *Arcadian* by Birth, had left *Greece* some Time before, and planted a Colony in that Part of *Italy* which was afterwards called the *Latin Territory*. That Prince, who had introduced thither the Use of Letters, which was then unknown there, had gained the Affection of the *Aborigines*, who without considering him as their King, obeyed him as a Man of uncommon Wildom. But nothing procured him more the Veneration of that People, than the Reputation of his Mother *Carmenta*, whom the *Greeks* named *Themis*, and who was looked upon as a Divinity. During her Life-time she was the Oracle of that whole Nation,

(1) L. 1. (2) Upon the eighth of the *Eneid*. (3) L. 1.

Nation, and after Death had divine Honours paid to her. *Evander*, who had learned not long ago from *Carmenta*, that a Heroe, a Son of *Jupiter*, was one Day to arrive in the Country, and that his heroic Achievements would raise him to divine Honours, had no sooner heard the Name of him who had slain *Cacus*, than he was determined to be the first who should do honour to him, even in his Life-time as a Divinity. Thus he erected an Altar to him in haste; and after having let him know his Mother's Predictions, sacrificed to him a young Bullock. After the Sacrifice, it was agreed to, at *Hercules's* Desire, and with the Consent of the whole Nation, that such a Solemnity should be perpetuated from Year to Year, according to the *Grecian* Rites, which he himself took Care to teach them, and for that Effect two of the most noble Families of the Country were set apart, that of the *Potitians*, and that of the *Pinarians*. The former, according to the *Roman* Historians, was afterwards entirely destroyed for having offered to perform that Ceremony upon public Slaves, while that of the *Pinarians*, faithful to their Engagements, was still subsisting in the Time of *Cicero*.

To proceed; I know not for what Reason some Authors consider the Adventure of *Cacus* as a Fable. For tho' it were not even attested by two antient ones, namely, *Titus Livius* and *Dionysius Halicarnassens*, and, what is still more decisive, by a Festival to perpetuate the Memorial of it; and tho' we should understand it literally in the Manner as *Virgil* relates it in the eighth Book of his *Eneid*; yet, what is there in it of so extraordinary a Nature to hinder us from believing it to be a true History? Might there not have been in *Italy*, in the Time that *Hercules* arrived thither, one of those Robbers who were then so common, who having found some of *Hercules's* Oxen straying from the rest of the Flock, stole and hid them in some Cave? Might not one of them have answered to the Lowings of the others, and thereby detected the Theft? And might not *Hercules*, who, as *Dionysius*

Jus tells us, had good Troops with him, have attacked him, and delivered *Italy* from a petty Tyrant, who was guilty of great Abuses in the Country? And as to what *Virgil* tells us, that this Robber was the Son of *Vulcan*, and that in defending himself against our Heroe, he had vomited Torrents of Fire and Smoak, these are only poetical Circumstances wherewith such sort of Adventures were usually embellished.

We learn from some of the Antients, that as our Heroe was desirous to perpetuate his Memory by more Ways than one, he married the Daughter of *Evander*, by whom he had *Palans*. He had also brought with him, says *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, a Female Slave, whom he gave in Marriage to *Faunus*, of whom was born *Latinus*. We are further told, that *Hercules* abolished in *Italy* the cruel Custom of offering to the Gods human Victims, substituting in their Stead only animal Sacrifices, or at most Representations of Men; for, to mention this by the Way, when they had not Ability to purchase the real Victims, they contented themselves with offering up something that represented them.

Being designed to plant a Colony in *Africa* for facilitating Commerce, which was one of the Ends of his Voyage, he was hindered from it at first by another Merchant who had settled in *Libya*, and was already grown so powerful that it was not possible to force him. Our Heroe artfully drew him out to Sea, and having cut him off from all Communication with the Land whither he used to go for fresh Provisions and Recruits, he thus destroyed him. Hence the Fable of *Antheus*, that famous Giant, the Son of the *Earth*, who could not die, as we are told, till he was stifled in the open Air, in regard that he recovered new Strength every Time he was laid in the Earth; because in fact he was always furnished from the Land with a Supply of Troops. Time has preserved to us a fine Groupe of Marble which represents *Hercules* holding up *Antheus* in the Air, and strangling him with all his Force. This *Antheus*

built the City *Tingi* (a), which is at this Day a Town upon the Straits of *Gibraltar*. We are that *Sertorius* caused the Tomb of that Giant to be opened, and that his Bones were of an extraordinary bigness (b).

While *Hercules* was in *Africa*, *Busiris*, that noted Tyrant, had sent Pirates to carry off the Nieces of a Prince of *Mauritania* and *Hesperia*, the Daughter of *Hesperus* his Brother, and therefore named the *Periides*. Our Heroe rescued them, gave Chace to the Pirates, and went and slew *Busiris* himself, as has been said elsewhere (1). *Atlas*, to reward *Hercules* for his signal Piece of Service, taught him Astrology; and as it was he discovered the milky Way, which is an immense Cluster of Stars, hence arose the ridiculous Fable, that *Juno*, by the Counsel of *Minerva*, having suckled *Hercules*, whom she found in a Field where his Mother had exposed him, he sucked her breasts with so much Eagerness, as to spill a great quantity of the Milk, whereby was formed that milky Way.

Further, the wholesome Counsel which *Hercules* imparted to *Atlas*, and the Support he afforded him in the Wars wherein he was engaged, especially in the War of *Busiris*, gave Rise to another Fable, which asserts, that he aided him in proping the Heavens some Time upon his Shoulders (c). *Atlas*, before he took Leave of *Hercules*, made him a Present of some of the finest Sheep in the Country, and these are the famous golden Apples which that Prince is said to have kept by a Dragon in the Garden of the *Hesperides*—and the Fable is founded upon a mere Equivocation; for the Greek Word (2) signifies either a Sheep or an Apple. There is in the King's Cabinet a fine bas-relief, on which *Hercules* is represented gathering golden Apples. The Serpent which twines about the

1) It is called at present *Tangier*.

2) See what has been said on this Subject, V. 2. B. 1.

3) V. 2. B. 1. Art. of *Atlas*.

4) See the Fable of *Atlas* in the History of *Jupiter*.

5) 20 Māw.

the Tree that bore them, is bowing its Head, as if it had received a mortal Wound. That Monster, the Offspring of *Typhon*, had, we are told, a hundred Heads, and as many Voices; but upon the Medaillon it has only one. The three *Hesperides*, *Eglé*, *Aresha*, and *Hypertusa*, are near the Tree, and seem to be reproaching *Hercules* for his Theft.

M. le Clerc (1) remarks, that this Adventure happened near *Tingi* in *Africa*, where, according to *Pliny* (2), we are to place the Gardens of the *Hesperides*, so called, not from *Hesperus's* Daughter, but upon account of their westerly Situation; whence *Spain* got the same Name (3). *Palephatus* explains this Fable otherwise (4), and says, there was a *Milesian*, an Inhabitant of *Caria*, named *Hesperus*, whose Daughters were called *Hesperides*, who kept Flocks of Sheep so beautiful, that they might justly be called golden Sheep. These *Hercules* carried off, together with the Shepherd, whose Name was *Draco*. But this Author is apt to forge Explanations of his own, and to give Existence to Persons who never were; however, *Agroelas*, an antient Author, quoted by the learned Scholiast on *Apollonius Rhodius*, has much the same Sentiments of this Fable with *Palephatus*, and takes these pretended golden Apples to have been Sheep of a surprising Beauty, and which were therefore called *golden Sheep*, and their Keeper a *Dragon*, upon account of his Vigilance and Fierceness. The only Difference we find between those two Writers, is, that the first takes the Scene of the Adventure to have been in *Caria*, whereas the second makes it to have been in *Libya*; which is more conform to the Opinion of the Antients. Be that as it will, I would rather adopt the Conjecture of *Bochart* (5), who says, this Fable was intended to set forth the Riches of *Atlas*, the *Phenician* Word *Malon*, whence the *Greeks* formed *Melon*, signifying either Riches or Apples (a).

Hercules,

(1) Upon *Hyd.* p. 41. (2) L. 5. c. 5. (3) *Macrobius*, Sat. I. 1. (4) De reb. incred. (5) *Chan.*

(a) The Reader will be pleased to call to Mind what has been said

Hercules, during this Expedition, having penetrated as far as *Cadiz*, which was considered as the Extremity of the World, whither the Sun went to set in the Ocean, erected two Pillars, to intimate it was there the Enterprises of that Heroe ended, and that no Body ought to attempt to go farther. *Bacchus*, or rather *Osiris*, had done the same in the *Indies*. Nothing is more famous in fabulous History than these Pillars of *Hercules*; and yet learned Critics reckon with *Bochart* that they never subsisted, and that what gave Rise to the Fable, is the Situation of two Mountains named *Calpé* and *Abyla*, whereof the one is in *Africa*, and the other in *Europe*, upon the Straits of *Gibraltar*, which were considered as a kind of Pillars, denoting that there was the Extremity of the World, and the Boundaries which Nature had planted, to intimate to Men that the Progress of their Conquests and Ambition must there stop short; and what confirms the Conjecture of that eminent Author, is, that *Abyla*, which is the Name of a Mountain, signifies likewise a Pillar.

Whatever be in that, 'tis certain there were magnificent Pillars in the famous Temple which the Inhabitants of *Cadiz* erected in Honour of *Hercules* at some Distance from their City; and as they were engraved in *Phœnician* Characters, it was afterwards believed that Heroe himself had erected them. These two Pillars were looked upon by the Antients as two Talismans that had Influence to stop the impetuous Force of the Elements, lest if they happened to blend with the Ocean, the Seat of dark *Chaos*, they should introduce universal Confusion and Disorder: *Terræ & Oceani vinculum sunt hæc columnæ, quas in domo Parcarum inscripsit Hercules, ne qua Elementis contentio accedat, nec amicitiam disjungant, qua invicem junguntur* (1). It was undoubtedly the ancient *Phœnician* Characters engraved upon them, and which were not understood, that

is said on this Subject in the second Volume, Book first, on Occasion of *Atlas*; and if he desires a fuller Account, he may read the Abbé *Nogues's* Dissertation. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bel. Let. T. 3. p. 28.

(1) *Apollon*.

that gave Rise to the Fable. This Temple was very famous; its Situation in so remote a Place, its Antiquity, the incorruptible Timber whereof it was built, its Pillars enriched with antient Inscriptions and Hieroglyphics, the Labours of *Hercules*, which were there represented (*a*); *Geryon's* Trees, which, according to *Philostratus*, sent forth Blood, the old Ceremonies that were practised (*b*); all these made it very celebrated, and *Cadiz* thought itself secure under the Protection of so great a Heroe. Accordingly, as *Tberon*, the King of *Spain*, was coming to rifle this Temple (*c*), a panic Terror dispersed his Ships, upon the sudden Appearance of Fire from some Cause unknown.

The Mythologists tell us that the *African Expedition* was the last of our Heroe's Exploits, and that *Eurystheus* being satisfied enjoined him nothing further. But it is to be observed with *Diodorus Siculus*, that among the Labours of this Heroe, some had been commanded him by *Eurystheus*, others to which he was prompted by his Valour alone. Thus he penetrated as far as the Extremity of *Scythia*, where he is said to have set at Liberty *Prometheus*, whom *Jupiter* had there fast bound, and where an Eagle was continually preying upon his Liver, to punish him for his Presumption, as has been already more fully said in his History.

The

(*a*) As to which we may observe, it was not till many Ages after the *Phœnician Hercules*, who built this Temple, that the *Greeks* superadded to it the Ceremonies, Paintings, &c. which related to their *Hercules*.

(*b*) *Silius*, l. 3. describes them in these Verses:

*Femines prohibent gressus, ac limite curant
 Etigeras arcere fœci, aut discolor ulli
 Ante aras cultus; æclantur corpora limo,
 Distinctis mos thura dare, atque è lege parentum
 Sacrificum lato castrum distinguere clavo.
 Pes nudus, consueque coma, castumque cubile.
 Ingressus tu scis servant altaria flammæ,
 Sed nulla effigies, simulacrave nota Deorum.*

(*c*) This Temple was at a considerable Distance from *Cadiz*, on the East of the Island, near the main Land. Consult *Bochart*, Can. l. 11 c. 34.

The River *Acbelous* by its Inundations laid waste the Plains of *Calydon*, and introducing Confusion among the Landmarks, often obliged the *Ætolians* and *Acarnanians* to make War upon one another. This Prince, with the Assistance of his Companions, fenced it with Moles, and made the Course of the River so uniform, that it gave no further Trouble to those People. Those who wrote this Event, related it in a quite fabulous Manner: *Hercules*, said they, fought with the God of that River, who had first transformed himself into a Serpent, whereby was denoted its winding Course; and then into a Bull, which sets forth the swelling and Impetuosity of the River, and the Desolation it made in the Fields (a). They added, that *Hercules* had vanquished him at last, and had tore off one of his Horns; that is, he reduced into one single Channel the two Arms of the River; that this Horn became a *Cornucopia*, because it actually introduced Plenty into the Country; tho' by the *Cornucopia* is often understood that of *Amalthea*, who had nursed *Jupiter*, which the Nymphs, we are told, had given to *Acbelous* in exchange for that which *Hercules* had torn from him (1). *Oeneas* King of *Calydon*, to reward *Hercules* for this Service, gave him his Daughter *Dejanira* in Marriage, by whom he had a Son named *Hilus*. He continued three Years at that Prince's Court, and then went into voluntary Banishment for a Murder he had committed (2). If we compare now this Piece of History with the pompous Description which *Ovid* gives of the Combat between that River and our Heroe, we shall see how far poetical Licence carries Fiction.

I ought not to omit here the Explanation of that Circumstance in the same Poet, when he tells us, that

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(a) Rivers were often represented under the Figure of a Bull, to denote the Desolation they made: *Taurorum specie simulacra formam, id est, cum cornibus, quod sunt atrocia ut Tauri*, says *Isid.* *Tzetzes*, *Eliau*, *Acron* upon *Horace*, L. 4. Od. 14. and others say the same; *Strabo* thinks it was from the Noise of the Water

(1) Apollon. (2) Diodor. l. 4.

the River *Acbelous* having been neglected by the Nymphs in a Sacrifice which they offered to the other Gods, he swelled over his Banks so high, as to bear them away into the Sea, where they were transformed into those Islands which we call the *Eschinades*. What gave Rise to this Fable, is, that the River *Acbelous*, by its frequent Overflowings, carried down into the Sea such a vast Quantity of Sand and Mud, as to form thereof several Islands (1); to which we may add, that the Shipwreck of certain Shepherdesses in some of those Inundations, gave a Handle to the Invention of this Fiction. Those Islands lately formed, says another Poet, gave Rise to a pretty singular Adventure. *Alcmeon*, we are told, the Son of *Amphiaraus*, being left to wander as a Vagabond for the Murder of his Mother, came to consult the Oracle to know where he might find a Retreat; and the Answer was, that he never would be released from the Persecution of the Furies, till he had found a Place which was not enlightened by the Sun at the Time of his committing that foul Parricide. After having mused a long Time upon the Sense of the Oracle, he thought the *Eschinades* Isles must be intended, they being newly formed, and large enough for him to reside in. Thither he went and settled, founded therein a small Kingdom, and communicated his Son's Name to the neighbouring Coast (a).

Theseus, for having attempted to carry off the Wife of *Aidoneus*, King of *Epirus*, for his Friend *Piritheus*, had been made the Prisoner of that Prince. *Hercules*, as he passed thro' that Kingdom, delivered him from his Confinement; and this *Aidoneus*, for Reasons already assigned, being considered as the King of Hell (b); hence the Voyage of *Hercules* was taken for a Descent into the Kingdom of the Dead; but two Things contributed to this Fable; the one, that he

(1) Diod. l. 4.

(a) It was called *Acarnania*.

(b) See the History of *Plato*.

he brought from *Epirus* some mastiff Dog, which was taken for *Cerberus*, as we have said (a); the other, that he slew at that time a famous Serpent that had its Den in the Cave of *Tenarus*, which was reckoned the Mouth of Hell. As to which *Palephatus* is of Opinion (b), that it was a Mastiff which *Hercules* had taken from *Geryon*; and he was said to have three Heads, because *Hercules* had taken him from the Town of *Tricassia*. *Molossus*, says he, that is *Aidoneus*, stole him from *Eurystheus*, and hid him in the Cave of *Tenarus*, whither *Hercules*, by Command of the King of *Mycenæ*, went in search of him; and this, according to that Author, is what gave Rise to that Prince's fabulous Journey to Hell (c). *Aidoneus* was probably wounded by our Heroe; and as that Prince was obliged to go to *Thessaly* for a Cure, hence it was given out, that the God of Hell had been necessitated to leave his Kingdom and repair to *Olympus* to implore the Succour of *Peon*, who was a famous Physician in *Thessaly*.

'Tis not agreed, as we have seen, by what Place *Hercules* went down to Hell. The History of *Thescus* seems to prove, that it was in *Thesprotia*, or in *Epirus*; other Mythologists speak of the Cave of *Tenarus* in *Laconia*, where the Descent to *Pluto's* Kingdom was believed to be: Lastly, *Xenophon*, in his sixth Book of the Retreat of the ten thousand, speaking of the Arrival of the Army in the *Acberontic Chersonesus*, adds, that it was in that Country *Hercules* was said to have descended into *Pluto's* Kingdom, and that there the Cave was still to be seen, which was more than 150 Paces deep.

Probably *Hercules* reckoned this Descent into Hell the most hazardous of his Labours, since he would not undertake it till he had first got himself initiated into the *Eleusinian* Mysteries. For that End he went to *Atbens*; but *Eumolnus*, or according to others, *Museus* the Son of *Orpheus*, who presided therein, remonstrated

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(a) In the System of Hell.

(b) Chap. 4. de reb. incred.

(c) See the System of Hell, in the Article of *Cerberus*.

to him, that no Stranger could be admitted into the Mysteries of *Ceres*. However, being unwilling to refuse the Heroe that Satisfaction, others were instituted upon his Account. These are what were called the lesser *Eleusian* Mysteries, into which Strangers were from that time admitted.

Pelias (a) having been put to Death by his own Daughters, *Acastus* his Son resolved to pursue his Sisters as far as the Court of King *Admetus* his Cousin, whither *Alcestes* had retired (b); and because that Prince, who was enamoured of her would not deliver her up, *Acastus* ravaged the whole Country. *Admetus* having been taken in a Sally, the generous *Alcestes* came and made a voluntary Offer of herself to the Conqueror, if he would deliver her Lover from Death, with which he was threatned: *Acastus* accepted of her, and dismissed *Admetus*. *Alcides* arrived at that Time at the Court of *Thebessy*, and having found that Prince in the utmost Distress for the Loss of his Mistress, whom he believed upon the Point of being offered up to the *Manes* of her Father, was intreated by him to go in Pursuit of his Enemy. *Alcides* defeated *Acastus*, delivered *Alcestes*, and gave her back to *Admetus*, who married her. Those who wrote the History of this Event, clothed it in a fabulous Dress, and heightened it by saying that *Alcestes* had died to save her Lover; adding, that *Hercules* had encountered Death, and having gained the Victory, had bound him in Adamantine Chains, till he promised at last to restore *Alcestes* to the Light of Life, whereof he had so unjustly bereaved her. This, as we see, is an Allegory such as may well enough be justified; since to deliver a Person ready to die, is to pluck him out of the Hands of Death: Thus we speak every Day without Fiction. But what rendered this Fable more probable is, when that Heroe delivered her, she had already passed the River *Ascheron* in her Return to her Kingdom. Perhaps those who

made

(a) *Philopatus* de reb. incred. Ch. 17. *Diod.* l. 4.

(b) She nevertheless was innocent, if we may credit *Diodorus*, l. 4.

made an Epithalamium upon the Marriage of that Prince, sung something like those Verses of M. Quinault :

*Alcide est vainqueur du trepas,
L'Enfer ne lui résiste pas, &c.*

*Alcides Death has overcome,
And o'er the Pow'rs of Hell prevail'd.*

The Intervention of *Apollo* was foisted into this Fable, because that God, as has been set forth in his History, had been obliged to keep *Admetus's* Flocks.

The *Amazons* were in high Reputation in the Time of *Alcides*, and their The Defeat of
the Amazons. Conquests over their Neighbours rendered them formidable. *Eurystheus* ordered that Prince to go and carry off the Girdle of *Hippolita*, that is, make War upon them and plunder their Treasures. *Hercules* embarked upon the *Euxine Sea*, arrived upon the Banks of the *Thermodon*; and having attacked those Heroines, routed them, slew a Part of them, and put the rest to flight, took *Hippolita* or *Antiope* Prisoner, whom he gave to *Theseus*, and *Menalippe* their Queen ransomed herself, by giving the famous Girdle, that is, by paying her Fine.

Some perhaps will be curious to know who those *Amazons* were. It was a Republic of Women, who admitted no Men among them, contenting themselves with making them a Visit once a Year. If after this Interview they happened to be delivered of a Son, they exposed him, or sent him to the *Scythians* their Husbands; if it happened to be a Daughter, they took great Care of her Education, and burnt off her right Breast, that she might the more easily draw the Bow; hence they got the Name of *Amazons* *Ἀμαζον*, without a Breast. In this all the Antients are agreed; and yet all the *Amazons* we see represented on antient Monuments have both Breasts.

Some Authors, among whom is *Strabo*, are of Opinion, that there never were *Amazons*; that all the Accounts given of them are mere Fables; and M. le Clerc adds, that what had given Rise to them is, that in

Cappadocia the Women went with their Husbands to War, as they had formerly been at the Conquest of the *Indies* with *Bacchus* or *Osiris*; that the Names given them, as *Antiope*, *Penthesilea*, and the rest, are *Greek*, and not *Scythian*; and that the best Historians of *Alexander's* Life say nothing of them. But considering the Manner in which all the Antients, I mean *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Velleius Paterculus*, *Mela*, *Pausanias*, *Trogus*, and several others, speak of the *Amazons*, we cannot question the Truth of what they say on this Head: They make them to have reigned in *Scythia*, upon the Banks of the *Thermodon*, and date the Commencement of their Empire from the Defeat of their Husbands, who having been driven out of *Scythia* by an Insurrection, seized upon *Cappadocia*. We are further told, that one of their Queens, named *Penthesilea*, came to the Assistance of *Priam*, and was slain by *Achilles* (a).

Herodotus tells us how the *Greeks* vanquished the *Amazons*, and in what Manner they saved themselves; as the *Scythians* came to know them after they had defeated them, and endeavoured to reduce them, by sending to them the handsomest Men of their Army. *Plutarch* speaks of their Irruption into *Attica* (1), and of the Victory which *Theseus* gained over them. *Quintus Curtius* informs us, that one of their Queens came to see *Alexander*, and passed thirteen Months with him. After these Testimonies, and several others which I cannot remember at present, it is hardly to be doubted that there were *Amazons* formerly. But without going to seek for them in so remote Ages, we are told (b) that there are of them at this Day in one of the *Marian* Islands. We are further told, that the Men of the neighbouring Islands visit them, and carry away with them the male Children, leaving only the Females; not to insist here on that vast Country of the

(a) *Diodorus* speaks of *Amazons* who signalized themselves in *Lilys*.

(1) In *Thef*.

(b) *F. Gobian*, in his sixth Collection of edifying Letters.

the *Amazons*, which was discovered some Ages ago in the Continent of *South America*.

As the Conquest of the *Argonauts* happened in the Time of our Heroe, he could not choose but be of the Party; however, some Authors are of Opinion, as has been said, that he did not go so far as *Colchus*, but made a Descent upon *Troas*, to go in search of the young *Hylas*, who had lost himself in going to draw Water (a). That young Prince, we are told, the Son of *Theodomantus*, King of *Mysia*, having been sent with his Companions into *Phrygia* in search of Water, was devoured by some wild Beast, or drowned in some Rivulet. *Hercules*, who had a great Love to him, went in quest of him, and made the Shores resound with the Name of his Favourite.

*His adjungit Hylam nautæ quo fonte relictum
Clamassent, ut littus Hyla, Hyla omne sonavit (1).*

However probable this Explanation is, M. le Clerc rejects it, and thinks the Word *Hyla* imports *Wood*; and that what gave Rise to the Fable, is, that *Hercules* actually landed with *Telamon* and his other Companions from the Ship of the *Argonauts*; and having cut down Timber on Mount *Ida*, employed it in building a Ship for their Expedition to *Troy*. The Sound of the Timber in falling, and the Echoe wherewith it was answered from the Forest, gave Rise to the Fable we have been explaining. Be that as it will, 'tis certain that the City *Troy* having been then very much damaged by the Inundations of the Sea, *Neptune*, by whom its Walls were built, was given out to be the Author of that Calamity, to punish the perfidious *Laomedon*. The Oracle being consulted, informed them, that there was no Way to appease the God of the Sea, but by exposing to a Monster a Virgin of the Blood Royal; and the Lot having fallen upon *Hesione*, that Prince's Daughter, *Hercules* offered to set her at Liberty, for a

H 4

See

(a) See what is said of him in the List of the *Argonauts*.

(1) Virgil. Eccl. 6.

Set of Horses which *Laomedon* promised him, and he was happy enough to succeed in his Enterprize; but the King having broke his Promise to him, he sacked the Town, carried off *Hesione*, whom he gave in Marriage to *Telamon*, slew *Laomedon*, and gave his Crown to *Podarces* his Son, at the Request of the Princess who ransomed him; for which Reason he got the Name of *Priam*. This Monster, in short, which desolated the City *Troy*, was the Sea, which, for want of Moles, overflowed the Country, and had brought a Contagion into the very City. The King was obliged to promise his Daughter to him who should stop the Inundation: This *Hercules* undertook and accomplished, and hence had the Fable taken its Rise. But, to mention it here by the Way, the Condition of this Contract is to be understood of some of the best Gallies of the *Phrygian* Prince, which our Heroe had demanded as a Reward for his Services; and this Conjecture is proved, not only because 'tis unlikely he would be contented with six Horses for having saved *Troy*, but also because the Poets tell us, that these Horses of *Laomedon* were so light that they walked upon the Water; which can only be meant of a Ship under sail, or of a Galley. All are agreed in this Expedition of *Hercules* to *Troy*; but *Diodorus* thinks (1) this Hero performed it with the other *Argonauts*: He adds, that they left *Hesione* in the Hands of *Laomedon*, until they should return; that *Hercules* and *Telamon* having gone to claim her, that Prince had ordered the Gates to be shut against them, which drew upon him the Punishment we have described.

'Tis easy to comprehend what *Lycophron* means (2), when he tells us, that the Monster we have been speaking of, devoured *Hercules*, who continued three Days in its Body, and came out of it all bruised. 'Tis obvious that this is a bad Imitation of the Story of *Jonas*; or rather, this Fable has no other Foundation, but that *Hercules* employed three Days in raising Moles, and that he was said to have thrown himself into the
Belly

(1) L. 1. (2) In his Cal.

Belly of that Monster, because he and his Companions went into the Water there to plant the Piles; or, if we have a mind to embrace *Palephatus's* Opinion, who will have it, that *Hesione* was carried off by a Pirate, we may suppose that *Hercules*, to rescue her, threw himself into his Ship, which was perhaps called the *Whale*, and that he was wounded there.

We must not forget that the *Trojans*, to secure *Hercules* from the Fury of the Monster, made an Intrenchment for him to retire into, when it came out of the Sea in pursuit of him; a Work which the Poet attributes to *Minerva* the Goddess of Arts, and which was still subsisting in the Time of the second Siege of that City. There it was that *Juno* and *Neptune* planted themselves to be Spectators of the Combat between *Hector* and *Achilles* after his Reconciliation. Having finished these Words, 'tis *Neptune's* Speech to *Juno* (1), he marches up first towards the Place called *Hercules's* Entrenchment, which *Pallas* and the *Trojans* formerly made for that Heroe, to shelter himself there from the *Whale*, when that devouring Monster quitted the Shore in pursuit of him, and threatened to fall upon him. This Entrenchment, or Fort, had been raised by the *Trojans* to secure themselves from the Incurfions of that Pirate, and *Hercules* made advantageous Use of it.

I say nothing here of several other Exploits wherewith the History of our Heroe is filled up; Cities taken; Tyrants chastised; Monsters subdued; Princes re-established in their Dominions; new Cities built in several Places; the Course of Rivers either diverted, or reduced within their Channels; new Ways made in Places inaccessible; Colonies transported into different Countries, were, according to *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* (2), the most common Actions of his Life: But I cannot pass over in Silence what befel him at the Siege of *Massene*, where he cut off all the Sons of *Neleus*, none of all the twelve having escaped but *Nestor*, who was then absent. The Adventure of the last who was slain is singular; he was named *Periclymenes*. *Hesi-*
ed

(1) *Iliad* 20. (2) *L. 1.*

od (1), *Apollonius* (2), and after them *Ovid* (3), tell us, that young Prince had received from *Neptune* the Power of transforming himself into several Shapes. We are told, that in order to avoid the Blows of the redoubted *Hercules*, he changed himself into an *Ant*, a *Fly*, a *Bee*, a *Serpent*; and yet all availed him nothing: He thought at length to have escaped the Hands of his Enemy, by assuming the Figure of an *Eagle*: But *Hercules*, according to the *Latin* Authors, wounded him to Death with an Arrow, or, according to the *Greek* Authors, with a Blow of his Club (4); a Fable whereby we learn the various Turns of Address which the Son of *Neleus* put in Practice to ward off impending Death, from which Flight could not save him.

Hercules, as we read in *Eliau*, sacked the City *Messene*, to be revenged of *Neleus* and his Family for having refused to expiate him from a Murder he had committed; and the same Author adds, that he spared the young *Nestor*, and gave him the Kingdom of his Father, because he was not in the Plot with his other Brothers; which he reckons a high Mark of Generosity and Gratitude, without considering that this single Act of Justice can never atone for the unparalleled Cruelty of this Heroe, who sacrifices a Prince and eleven of his Sons to the Refusal of an Expiation, whereof, in all Probability, he was not deemed worthy.

His Encounter at *Sparta* with *Hippocoon* and his Sons, whom he slew to revenge the Death of *Oeonus* the Son of *Lycimnius*, his Mother's Brother, is also much celebrated by *Pausanias* (5). *Oeonus* having gone to *Sparta*, and passing by *Hippocoon's* House, as his Dog was offering to bite him, he threw a Stone at it; upon which his Sons run up, and knocked him in the Head with Cudgels. *Hercules* fell furiously upon them; but having received a Wound in the Scuffle, he was forced to retire. Some time after he returned with Assistance, massacred *Hippocoon* and his Sons; and

(1) In Scuto. (2) In Argon. (3) Met. l. 11. (4) Lylio Giral-di. (5) In Lacon.

and finding *Juno* not averſe to his Vengeance, he built a Temple, and ſacrificed to her a She-goat; whence came the Sirname of *Juno Egophaga*, or the Goat-eater, a Name given her by the *Lacedemonians*.

His wreſtling Match with *Eryx*, whom he vanquiſhed in *Sicily*, whither he had made *Geryon's Oxen* ſwim over by the Straits of *Scylla*, is no leſs noted. The Conditions were, That if *Hercules* was thrown down, *Eryx* ſhould have his Oxen; and if *Hercules* got the better of the other, he ſhould be Maſter of the Country. The *Athenians* ſent afterwards *Dorycus* to take Poſſeſſion of the Canton of *Sicily* named *Erycia* from *Eryx*; but the *Egeſtbeans* aſſaſſinated him.

Laſtly, *Hercules* having taken many Cities, and executed the Labours which *Eryſtheus* had enjoined him, fell in love with *Iolè* the Daughter of *Eurytus*, and this Prince having denied her to him, he ſubdued *Oecbalia*, carried off the Princeſs, and ſlew the King. Upon his Return from this Expedition, he ſent *Lycas* for his ceremonial Robes, for which he had Occaſion in a Sacrifice he was going to perform. *Dejanira*, jealous of the Love he bore to *Iolè*, ſent him either a Philter which killed him, or a Tunic beſmeared with a Kind of Bitumen which grew near *Babylon*, and which was no ſooner heated than it clung to the Skin; or, if we will not depart from the Antients, and eſpecially from *Diodorus*, a Tunic dipp'd in the Blood of *Nefſus*, whom he had ſlain with an Arrow, when that Centaur, after conveying his Wife *Dejanira* upon Horſeback over the River *Evenus* at *Hercules's* Return from *Calydon* (a), offered Violence to that Princeſs: And as *Hercules's* Arrows were poisoned, as
has

(a) He was going to *Trachine* to get himſelf expiated from the Murder of *Eunomus*, the Kinſman of his Father-in-law *Oeneus*, whom he had ſlain at a Feaſt, which obliged him to ſubmit to voluntary Banishment from *Calydon*, as we learn from *Apollodorus* and *Diodorus*. In his Way from *Calydon* to *Trachine* he had to croſs the River *Evenus*, which runs not thro' the Town, as ſome Authors will have it: for then he would have croſſed it there either by a Bridge or in a Boat, without having Occaſion for the Centaur *Nefſus*.

has been said, the Blood that issued from his Wound was so too, and he made *Dejanira* believe that this Tunic would have Effect to prevent her Husband from loving other Women. Whatever be in this, *Hercules* having put on the Vestment, fell into a desperate Distemper, slew *Lybas* (a), went to *Trachine*, whither he had retired after his Exile from *Calydon*, obliged *Dejanira* to hang herself; and having consulted the Oracle about his Distemper, had no other Response, but that he was to go with his Friends to Mount *Oeta*, and there erect a funeral Pile. He took the Meaning of the Oracle, and prepared himself for putting it in Execution. *Philoctetes* lighted the Funeral Pile when our Heroe was burnt. Thus died the valiant *Alcides*, about thirty Years before the *Trojan* War, as I have proved in settling the Date of the *Argonautic* Expedition. He was only of the Age of fifty two Years (b). Some are of Opinion, that he died at the Court of *Ceyx*, and that they went and burnt his Body upon Mount *Oeta*, after the Fashion of the Country. *Dejanira* did not long survive him: She died at *Trachine*, and was interred at the Foot of Mount *Oeta*, near the Town which was afterwards called *Herculea*, where, according to *Pausanias* (1), she had a Tomb.

All Antiquity is well enough agreed as to the Manner of *Hercules's* Death; but as this Event gave Rise to a fine Tragedy of *Sophocles*, intitled the *Trachinians*, and to two others of *Seneca* under the Titles of *Hercules Furens*, and *Hercules Oeteus*, we shall insist a little upon it. *Ovid* makes this Heroe receive *Dejanira's* fatal Present upon Mount *Oeta*, and to have died there without leaving the Place; but *Sophocles* makes him go to *Trachine*, and arrive there at the Time of *Dejanira's* having stab'd herself; and there preyed upon by the secret Poison which consumes him, he pours forth against

(a) Who was thrown into the Sea; whence the Story of his being transformed into a Rock, which bore his Name from that Time. *Ovid Met. l. 11.*

(b) *Enfilus* and *Isidorus*, in *Chronic*, after *Manetho*.

(1) *1^a Corinth.*

gainst her those doleful Complaints, mixed with Imprecations, which *Ovid* renders to very good Purpose, and *Seneca*, in his usual Way, with great Emphasis, and a small Share of good Sense. *Ovid* embellishes his Speech with this fine Sentiment:

*Defessa jubendo est †
Seva Jovis conjux, ego sum indefessus agendo.*

The Cruel Consort of Jove is tired out with multiplying her rigid Orders, while I am indefatigable in the Execution. *Cicero*, or according to others, *Attilius*, judged this Lamentation not unworthy their Pens, and have translated it into *Latin*. The Reader, I presume, will not be displeased to find it here, were it but to give him some Relief from the Barrenness of these Discussions (1). “ O unparalleled Enterprize of Woman! *Dejanira*, must I then be thy Victim! ’Tis not by the implacable *Juno*, nor the barbarous *Eurystheus* I fall, but by the Hands of my own Spouse. ’Tis she has caught me in this fatal Robe, as in a Net wrought by the Hands of the Furies; oh! detested Garment! oh horrid Poison! it seizes on my Body; it preys upon my Vitals; it penetrates into my Veins: My tainted Blood boils and consumes away: My Body burnt up by a hidden Flame, is wasted to a Shadow. O ye Gods, ye Gods! am I then doomed to expire by the Hands of a Woman, who has attempted and carried into Execution what neither armed Giants, nor monstrous Centaurs, nor the Power of Greece, nor all the World besides whom I delivered from a hundred Monsters, were able to accomplish! O my Son, if thou deservest that tender Name, neglect not the Duty thou owest to a wretched Father. Let not fond Compassion to a Mother prevail over the just Revenge I claim upon thy Father’s Murderer. Fly quick, drag that Fury hither, deliver her over to me, and be yourself the Spectator of her Punishment. I shall now prove whether of us you pre-

“ fer,

(1) Apollod. l. 2.

" fer, her or me. Quick, fly apace I say, have Cou-
 " rage to obey me, take Pity on a Father the most
 " distressed of Mortals. See thy wretched Parent dis-
 " solved in Tears ; me, whom none ever heard utter
 " a Groan midst all the Horrors of adverse Fortune !
 " Ah, I blush at my own Weakness. Draw near,
 " my Son, witness the Extremity of my Sufferings.
 " Here are my Entrails. See this Body cruelly rack'd
 " and tortured. Ah, what Convulsions ! what
 " Flames ! what Pangs and Tortures still renewed !
 " Almighty *Jove*, hurl me down to Hell ; launch
 " thy Thunder and crush me to Pieces. My Wounds
 " bleed afresh ; I am quite consumed ; what Agony !
 " My Arms, my Arms, whose Strength was once
 " my boasted Glory, what are ye now become ? Are
 " these the Hands that squeezed to Death the Lion
 " of *Nemea* ? Yes, this is the Arm that cut off the
 " Hydra's growing Heads ; this the Arm that van-
 " quished the *Centaur*s ; this the Arm whose Blows
 " laid the Boar of *Erymanthus* gasping on the Ground,
 " that dragg'd *Cerberus* from Hell, that tore in
 " Pieces the Dragon, the Keeper of the golden Fruit ;
 " this the Arm signalized by numberless Exploits,
 " and never disarmed by Mortal. Do you know it ?
 " To what sad Plight do you see it now reduced !
 " bruised, shattered, emaciated, it languishes, it is
 " not to be known. I, the Son of *Jupiter* and *Al-
 " men*a, but what are these Names to me ! even I
 " am become the Victim of a perfidious Woman.
 " But thus low as I am reduced, I hope for Vengeance
 " on her guilty Head. Hear me, thou Reproach of
 " thy Sex ; publish this Truth to the World, *Hercu-
 " les*, dead as he appears, shall ever live to be the
 " Scourge of the Impious." We must add, *imo. Sopho-
 cles* says not that *Nessus* gave *Dejanira* the bloody
 Shirt, as it is in *Ovid*, but some of his own Blood
 poisoned by *Hercules's* Arrows, enjoining her to keep
 it in a secure Place ; and that it was not till such
 Time as *Dejanira* was apprized of the Falshood of her
 Husband, that she besmeared a Shirt with it, and sent

sent it to him. A precipitant Jealousy hindered her from giving Heed to all the Precautions of the *Centaur*; and having recollected, after the Departure of *Lycas*, that the Lock of Wool which she had employed in besmearing the Shirt, when brought out to Day-light, had taken Fire, she began to suspect that the Blood was rather a Poison than a Philter to regain her Husband's Heart, of whose cruel Agonies she was at the same Time informed; and upon this she stab'd herself to the Heart upon her Nuptial Bed.

2dly, According to *Ovid*, and others of the Antients, it was *Philoctetes* lighted the funeral Pile wherein *Hercules* was consumed; whereas in *Sophocles*, it is *Hilus* the Son of that Heroe, after he had been bound to it by Oath, upon Assurance given him that it was the Will of the Gods, and that he could not offend them in obeying his Father.

3dly, 'Tis easy to see that *Seneca* in his two Tragedies, abandons that noble Simplicity of *Sophocles* to follow that bloated Enthusiasm, into which a false Genius sometimes rises. But at the same Time it is to be observed, that after having in the one represented *Hercules* strangely delirious, he makes him die in the other, in a soft and tender Manner, after he had address'd his Father *Jupiter* in a most moving Prayer, which he had filled with the finest Sentiments.

But to proceed. *Hercules* had a numerous Progeny, both by his Wives *Megara*, *Dejanira*, *Iolè*, *Omphale* the Queen of *Lydia*, at whose Court he is said to have employed his Time in Spinning, because he there led a very effeminate and voluptuous Life; and also by his Mistresses, of whom he had a great many: And as several People valued themselves afterwards on being descended from him, 'tis proper to mention some of the most noted of his Sons. By *Omphale* the Queen of *Lydia*, he had *Agésilas* (a), of whom *Cæsus* came; by *Épicaſte* the Daughter of *Egeus*, *Thessala*; by *Parthenope*

(a) According to *Palephatus*, he was named *Laomedon*, or according to others *Lamon*.

Ithenope the Daughter of *Symphalus*, *Everes*; by *Augé* the Daughter of *Aleus*, *Telebus*; by *Astioché* the Daughter of *Philantus*, *Tlepolemus*; by *Astidamia* the Daughter of *Amintor*, *Etefipus*; by *Orcbone* the Daughter of *Peleus*, *Pasoemon*; by *Megara* Daughter of *Creon*, *Therimachus*, *Deicoon*, *Creontiades*, and *Deion*; by *Dejanira* the Daughter of *Oeneus*, *Hilus* who afterwards married *Iolé*, *Etefipus*, and *Glicizonus*; not to insist on fifty Sons, whom he is said to have had by the fifty Daughters of *Thestius*; which appears a Fable, as well as what is said of the Children he had by *Hebé* after his Apotheosis. I am of Opinion too, that several afterwards laid claim without any Foundation, to be descended from this Heroe (a). For the Ancients name so many of them, that 'tis impossible to give them all a Place here.

Such is the History of *Hercules*, made up, as we have seen, of several strange Adventures. That one Man should have been able to accomplish so many Voyages, and to execute so many Enterprizes, is not easy to be conceived. We are however to observe that he was always accompanied with a Number of Persons, leading about with him *Eurystheus's* Troops, as *Diodorus* and the other Ancients remark; and whatever was done by his Orders, has been placed to his Account. I am even persuaded, that his Voyages to *Africa* and *Spain*, with all the Adventures there, must relate to the *Phenician* or *Egyptian Hercules*, who lived about the Time of *Josbua*, long before the *Grecian* Heroe (b); as also those famous Pillars which he erected near *Cadiz* (c). We are to think the same
Way

(a) See for the Children of *Hercules*, *Lyllo Giraldi*.

(b) Accordingly the Ceremonies imployed in his Worship at *Tartessus*, were *Phenician*: *Phœnicio ritu colitur*; *Thebanus ipse non est Deus, sed Tyriarum*. *Appian*. in *Iber*.

Diodorus and *Mela* say the same.

(c) *Bochart*, *Chan.* l. 1. c. 9. is of Opinion, that a mere Equivocation made the Mountains of *Alyla* and *Calpe* to be taken in after times for two Pillars, the one of those Mountains being in *Africa*, and the other in *Spain* upon the Straits of *Gibraltar*. If so the Inscription we have mentioned, must have been upon the Pillars of *Hercules's* Temple at *Cadiz*, which according to *Philestratus* were of Gold, and according to *Strabo* of Bronze.

Way of his Travels to the *Gauls* and *Germany*, where probably this Heroe never was. It was also the *Phœnician Hercules* found out the Art of staining Purple, his Dog having by chance ate of an Herb which made his Mouth all red.

M. *Loerquer* attributes this Invention to *Josbua* and his Companion *Caleb*, in his Journey to *Palestine*, because in the *Phœnician* Language *Caleb* signifies a Dog: Accordingly *Vossius* takes *Hercules* to be the same with *Josbua*. We are likewise to detach from *Hercules's* History several other Actions, such as his Fight with the Giants, which refers to the *Egyptian Hercules*, that great General of *Bacchus's* or *Osiris's* Army; a Fight which happened, no doubt, many Ages before the Birth of *Alcmena's* Son. We are to judge much the same Way of the Adventure of *Prometheus*, and in general of all those whereof *Greece* was not the Theatre.

In fine, we are to observe that whatever great Exploits were atchieved in that heroic Age were attributed to *Hercules*, that is, to Force and Valour; thus the Separation of *Calpé* from *Abyla*; the Overthrow of the Giants near *Arles*; the Passage over the *Alps*, at that Time impracticable: All these great Events, were put down to his Account. Probably they would say of him who got over these Adventures *he is a Hercules*, as we say now, such a one is a *Sampson*, a *Cesar*; thus 'tis very difficult to distinguish well what belongs to each of those, to whom the Ancients give the Name of *Hercules*; every Nation formed to itself a *Hercules* of the most famous of its Heroes, as has been said at the Beginning of this History, and these in aftertimes came to be confounded. But it will be said, how are we to understand the Poets, when they tell us, that when *Hercules* offered to engage in the Olympic Games, and no body durst enter the Lists with him, *Jupiter* himself combated with him under the Disguise of a Wrestler; and when after a long Struggle, the Advantage was equal on either Side, that God discovered himself, and congratulated his Son on his Strength and Valour?

Our Mythologists will answer, that the Poets in this Fable are alluding to the mysterious Wrestling of *Jacob* with the Angel of the Lord, who discovered himself in the Morning, after having wrestled with him all the Night, and gave him the Name of *Israel*, which imports *Strong*; and to be sure the Resemblance between them is considerable: Besides, the *Greeks* omitted nothing they could find in foreign Histories, to embellish those of their own Heroes. What makes their Conjecture still more probable, is, that this Fable is delivered by *Lycophron* (1), who lived in the Time of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, and who might have read the Book of *Genesis* in the *Septuagint* Translation, which was composed under that Prince's Reign. The same Way are we to judge, continue those Authors, of those Stones which *Jupiter* made to rain upon the Giants who fought against *Hercules*, since that bears a great Resemblance to a parallel Story, written in the Book of *Josbua* (2). *Pomponius Mela* (3) thus describes that Event upon Occasion of *Lacrau*, near *Arles*, a Plain covered with Stones, and which he calls, *Lapidum campum* (a). As *Hercules* was fighting with *Albion* and *Belgion*, the Sons of *Neptune*, and had emptied his Quiver upon them, he addressed himself to *Jupiter*, who struck them down with a Shower of Stones: And indeed there is such a vast Quantity of Stones in that Place, that one would be apt to believe that a Shower of them had fallen.

But that the Reader may not be under the Necessity of believing that the Poets had borrowed their Notions from what they had read in the sacred Books, of which few of them had any Knowledge, I reckon the first Fable may be explained, by saying that some Priest of *Jupiter* fought against *Hercules* with equal Advantage; and to heighten the Valour which that Heroe displayed in the *Olympic Games*, they added, that

(1) In his *Cassandra*. (2) Ch. 10. (3) L. 2. c. 5.

(a) *Herculem contra Albionem & Belgionem Neptuni liberos dimicantem, cum tela defecissent, ab invocato Jove, adjectum imbri lapidum ferant: credas pluisse, adeo multi passim & late jacent.*

his Antagonist was that God himself. As to the d, I suppose what gave rise to it, is, that in the where the Poets make this Combat to have fought, there is such a vast Quantity of Stones, it looks as if they had fallen from the Clouds, places about not being so full of them. This to mention it by the by, fed excellent Sheep, turn over with their Feet, any little Stones where the Pasture is covered, and which conceal any of Grass.

for the Fable, which imports that the same *Her-* fought with *Apollo* for the Tripod of *Delpbi*, it other Foundation, but that our Heroe having to consult the Oracle of that God about the er of *Ipbitus*; and the Priest not having given a favourable Answer, he carried off the Tripod e Temple, in spite of the Priests who made sition to him; but the Priestess having reproach- n for not treading in the Paths of the *Egyptian* les whom he had taken for his Patron, he was d with her Words, and restored it to her again.

acles was honoured as a God not long after his ; his Friend *Iolaus* performed the Ceremony of ification; and as the Fire had not left so much Bones unconsumed, he gave out that *Jupiter* urried him up to Heaven, to purify them from ver was mortal in his Nature (a). In confirma- of this Testimony, he added a pretended Pro- alledging that so soon as *Philoctetes* had lighted meral Pile, Lightning had fallen upon the Body, educed it to Ashes in a Moment. He got a erected to him upon Mount *Oeta*, upon which his sacrificed a Bull, and instituted an annual al to his Honour. The *Thebans* followed this ple, as also the other People of *Greece*, and les and Altars were raised to him afterwards in

As Fables vary continually, another Tradition bore, that it *Philoctetes* burnt this Hero's Body, and concealed the Ashes, as seen elsewhere.

several Places, where he was always considered as a Demi-God.

Again, his Worship resembled that of the other *Indigetes*, bating some few Circumstances. In the Island of *Cos* he had a Priestess. In that of *Rhodes* the Sacrifices offered to him were accompany'd with a thousand Imprecations, as a Memorial of what had happened upon our Heroe's carrying off a Ploughman's Oxen (a), he having pour'd out many Reproaches upon him, at which *Hercules* only laughed; thus it was thought no greater Honour could be done him, than to repeat those Imprecations in his Sacrifices (1). We read in *Albeneus*, that the *Phenicians* offered in sacrifice to *Hercules* Quails (2), and the Origine of this Practice they said was, that when our Heroe was slain by *Typhon*, *Iolaus* had restored him to Life with the Smell of a Quail; the Foundation of which Fable, according to *Bochart* (3), is that *Hercules* was subject to the Epilepsy, as we learn from some Authors, and that he was brought to himself by smelling a Quail, the Scent whereof *Galen* tells us (4), is a useful Remedy in that Disease.

We must not omit here, that the White Poplar Tree was consecrated to our Heroe. *Servius* interpreting those Verses, where *Virgil* calls this Tree the *Poplar of Hercules*, relates the Fable which imports, that our Heroe having descended into Hell, made a Crown of Poplar-leaves, and that what touched the Head, received, or rather retained its white Colour, while the Part of the Leaf that was without, was blackened with the Smoak of which those dreary Regions are full: The Import whereof is, that this Heroe found in *Thesprotia*, in the Kingdom of *Aidonius* whither he travelled, some of that kind of Poplars, and brought of them into *Greece*, as we read in *Pausanias* (5), having affected from that Time to wear
Garlands

(a) It was the *Thiadamas* whom we have spoke of.

(1) Lactantius, Div. Inst. l. 1. c. 21. (2) L. 9. c. 11.

(3) De Animal. Scrip. P. 2. l. 1. c. 19. (4) De partu facili,

a 155. (5) In Eliac. prior. id. l. 5.

Garlands of that Tree; and this is what makes *Ovid* say :

*Ausus es birsutos mitra redimire capillos,
Aptior Herculeâ populus alba coma.*

In fine, 'tis proper to remark with *Herodotus*, that there was some difference between the Worship paid to *Hercules*, whom they stiled *Olympian*, and that given to *Alcmena's* Son; namely, that to the one Sacrifices were offered as to a God, whereas the other had only Honours paid to him, such as are due to Heroes, as has been already said.

Before we close the History of *Hercules*, whose Adventures we have now related, 'tis proper to explain the several Names given him by the Poets and Historians.

That of *Alcides*, according to some, was given him from his Grandfather *Alceus*, or according to others, upon account of his Strength and Valour; that of *Hercules*, had a Reference to the two Serpents sent by *Juno*, which he put to Death in his Cradle; for that Name signifying the Glory of *Juno*, and τῆς Ἥρας τῆ κλέε, a laude & celebritate *Junonis*, seems intended to denote that the Persecutions of that Goddess would signalize him to Posterity. We are told that this Name was given her by the Priestess herself.

Olaus Rudbeck, who imagines he has discovered in *Sweden* his Country, and in the ancient Language thereof, the Origin of most of the Pagan Divinities, offers a very probable Conjecture in relation to this Heroe's Name, which he derives from *Her*, an Army, and *Kulle*, Chief; which is very applicable to *Hercules*; but we cannot determine whether this is that Heroe's Name, or if we are not rather to suppose, that this great Warrior having carried his Arms as far as the Extremity of the North, and having made himself known in *Celtica*, *Germany*, and *Scythia*, as several ancient Authors tell us, the Name of *Hercules* was from thence communicated afterwards to great Captains, and these two Words, *Her* and *Kulle*, used to signify

the Leader of an Army. We cannot therefore admit the Consequence which that Author draws from thence ; namely, that the *Greeks* got this Name from the *Scythians*, since it may be equally supposed that the northern Countries borrowed it from the *Greeks*.

Some Authors call him *Tyrinthus*, from the City *Tyrinthus* where he was brought up ; *Baraicus*, from a City in *Achaia* of that name, famous for an Oracle of our Heroe. The manner of delivering this Oracle was singular ; after those who came to consult him had addressed their Prayer in the Temple that was consecrated to him, they threw four Dice at random, upon the Faces whereof were engraved certain Figures, and then they went and consulted a Tablet where those Figures were explained, taking for the Response of the God, the Interpretation that answered to the *Chance* they had thrown.

He was also denominated *Tbasius*, from a City of that Name, built in the Island of *Tbasos*, which is in the *Egean* Sea, by the *Phenicians* who came from *Tyre* in quest of *Europa*, as we learn from *Herodotus* and *Pausanias*. The Inhabitants of that Island looked upon this Heroe as their *Saviour* ; and we are told by *Ravelin*, that there are Coins whereon this Title is given him. The same People, according to *Pausanias*, had dedicated to *Hercules* in the City of *Olympia*, a brazen Statue ten Cubits high, upon a Pedestal of the same Metal. If Father *Tournemine* shall ever make good his Assertion (1), that most of the Heroes of Antiquity were only Pagan Copies of the Messiah, known to all Nations by a Remainder of the Traditions which they had distorted, doubtless he will not omit to make mention of *Hercules* the *Saviour*, worshipped by a People, whom *Pausanias* and *Herodotus* make to have been originally from *Tyre* in *Phenicia*, a Country so near to that where the Prophets lived, who have said so much of the Messiah. No doubt he will also trace the resemblance which *Seneca* finds between them (2) ; and it must be owned, that either the tragic Poet had borrowed

(1) In the Journals of *Trevoux*. (2) In *Hercule*.

borrowed the pompous Ideas wherewith he embellishes the Story of that Heroe's Death upon Mount *Octa*, from the Accounts delivered at *Rome* under the Reign of *Tiberius*, of the Saviour's Death upon Mount *Calvary*, or it will not be easy to find out what could so exalt his Imagination.

The Name of *Melius* was given to *Hercules*, either because he had carried off the Golden Apples of the Garden of the *Hesperides* (1), as some of the Mythologists will have it (2), or because an Ox which he was going to sacrifice (a) having escaped, a Representation of one was made in Miniature, with an Apple, to which were added Feet and Horns, according to the Manner of those Times of representing Victims, either in Paste or otherwise, when they fell short of real ones.

That of *Musagetes*, which imports Companion of the *Muses*, was given him, because he was honoured with Rites of Worship in common with those of the nine Sisters. Historians tell us, that *Fulvius* built a Temple in the *Circus* of *Flaminius*, to the Honour of our Heroe, and of the nine *Muses* (3), and we see him represented with them on ancient Monuments (4). The ancient Author who speaks of this Temple of *Fulvius*, says his Motive for building it was, that being Governor in *Greece*, he had learned that our Heroe was the Companion and Conductor of the *Muses*: *Ædem Herculis & Musarum in circo Flaminio, Fulvius ille nobilior, ex pecunia censoria, fecit, non id modo secutus quod ipse literis & summa Poetæ amicitia duceretur, sed in Græcia cum esset Imperator, acceperat & Herculem Musagetem esse, hoc est comitem ducemque Musarum.* This Author, *Lylio Giraldi* tells us, is *Eumenius*; and what I have now quoted he delivers in an Oration intitled, *De instaurandis scholis.*

I 4

Suetonius

(1) *Mælar*, *Malum*. (2) *Lylio Giraldi* in *Hercule*.

(a) *Polix* says it was a Ram; and he adds, that ever since that Adventure, it was the Custom in *Beotia* to sacrifice to him those Animals.

(3) *Eumenius* apud *Lyl, Giraldi*. (4) *Spon. Misc. Erud. Antiq.*

Suetonius (1), and *Ovid* (2), likewise make mention of a Temple which *Martius Philippus* dedicated to *Hercules* and the Muses; and *Plutarch* says (3), the Original of this Usage came from *Evander*, who in gratitude to our Heroe for having taught him certain Sciences, was induced to join his Worship to that of the Goddesses who presided over them. But the true Reason, I take to have been that *Hercules* being among the *Phenicians* the Symbol of the Sun, the *Greeks* confounded him with their *Apollo*, and therefore gave him the Appellation of *Musagetes*. Some have fancied that the Reason of giving *Hercules* this Name, might be that the Muses being Virgins who are usually subject to fear, had this Heroe given them for their Companion, that his Valour might fortify them against the Insolence of those, who, *Pyreneus* like, should offer any Insult to them: But without examining whether this Conjecture be well founded, and if the Virgin Goddesses would have been quite safe under the Protection of a Heroe such as *Hercules*, we shall go on to the Explanation of the other Names that were given to this Demi-God.

That of *Myagrus*, or Fly-hunter, was given to him, as well as to *Jupiter*, for Reasons which I have already assigned. That of *Polyphagus*, of *Pamphagus*, or *Buphagus*, upon account of his Gluttony, which was so excessive that the *Argonauts* dismissed him from their Crew, as has been said, because he ate up all their Provisions.

We are told, that our Heroe having one Day carried off the Oxen of a Peasant named *Tbiodamas* (a), he ate up a whole one at a single Meal, as I have already remarked; add to this, that he had three Rows of Teeth, as we learn from the Poet *Ion*.

That of *Cynofarges*, from an Adventure which I am going to relate. As a Citizen of *Albens* named *Dydimus*, or *Diomus*, according to *Stephanus* and *Hesychius*, was going to offer a Sacrifice to *Hercules*, a white Dog seized

(1) In Augusto. (2) In Fastis. (3) In Q. Q.

(a) This Adventure having happened at *Lindus* in *Rhodes*, hence *Hercules* was named *Lindius*.

seized upon the Victim, and carried it off. *Dydimus* upon this, being at a Loss what to do, heard a Voice enjoining him to erect an Altar in the Place where the Dog had stopp'd, which accordingly he put in Execution, giving *Hercules*, as we read in *Hesychius*, the Surname of *Cynosarges*, from that white Dog. *Plato* however says, our Heroe was so called from the Name of the Citizen (a).

Upon a Vase dug up at *Malta*, and sent in the Year 1733 to Cardinal *Polignac*, we find the Epithet *Archegetes*, given to *Hercules*; a Word importing the same as *Dux*, *Princeps*. *Malta* had received a Colony of *Carthaginians* from *Tyre*; and *Hercules* being the principal Divinity of the *Tyrians*, no wonder that they gave him this Epithet; but 'tis remarkable that no ancient Author has taken Notice of it, and that this is the only Monument dug up where we meet with it, while *Thucydides* says *Apollo* had in the Island of *Naxos* an Altar and Worship under this particular Title of *Archegetes*; and we see in *Goltzius*, that the ancient Inhabitants of *Taormina*, originally from *Naxos*, of whose Ruins their City had been formed, put upon their Coin *Apollo's* Head with the same Epithet: but it often happens that a Medal, an *Intaglio*, or other Monument informs us every Day of Facts well known in Antiquity, which we should have been Strangers to had it not been for them.

Hercules had also the Epithet given him of *Somnialis*: who those particular Gods were who presided over Dreams, and had the Appellation of *Dii Somniales*, we know not; nor yet what Ministers were set over their Worship. *Spon* in his *Miscellanies of Antiquity*, takes Notice of an Inscription, copied at *Florence* in the *Strozzi* Palace, where mention is made of Worship paid to *Hercules* as a God who presided over Sleep,

Cultores Herculis Somnialis.

'Tis not easy to find out the Reason why this God was believed

(a) Consult *Pausanias* in *Atticis*, and *Hesychius* who speak of the Temple of *Hercules Cynosarges*.

believed to preside over Dreams; but 'tis not the less certain that he was believed to do so, and that the Sick were sent to sleep in his Temples, there to receive in a Dream the agreeable Prefage of the Recovery of their Health.

The *Sabins* termed *Hercules*, *Sanctus*, Holy; as we read in *Virgil* when he speaks of this Heroe (a).

Some Authors confound the Name of *Sanctus* with that of *Sangus*, given by the *Sabins* to the same God. The *Romans* had erected a Statue to him with this Inscription, *Semoni Sango*, which induced Saint *Justin* to take it for that of *Simon* the Magician. The Name of *Medius Fidius* was given to this Heroe by the same People, to intimate that he was the Son of *Jupiter*; for this is the best Interpretation given to those barbarous Terms. *Festus Pompeius* is of this Opinion in *Lyllo Giraldis*, who takes these Words to be compounded of *Dios*, the Name of *Jupiter*, and *Filius*; the Ancients frequently changing the *l* into *d*. A Passage from *Varro* quoted by that Mythologist, confirms this Conjecture (b).

The Poets too call *Hercules* sometimes *Trivestperum*, to denote that the Night in which he was conceived had been lengthened out to three, as we have said after *Plautus*.

In

(a) — — — *Et læti quem Sanctum voce canebant
Autorem gentis.* *Æn.* 8.

Ovid says the same thing:

*Querebam nonas Sancto, Fidione referrem,
An tibi, Semipater; sunc mihi Sanctus ait:
Cuicunque ex illis dederis, ego munus habebo:
Nomina terna fero, sic voluere Cures.
Hunc igitur veteres donarunt æde Sabini,
Inque Quirinali constituere iugo.*

Fast.

Propertius says also:

Salve sancte pater; cui non sævet aspera Juno.

We find also ancient Inscriptions where he has the Epithet:

Herculi pacifero, invicto, sancto.

See Gruter.

(b) *Unde sub Dio Dius Fidius; itaque inde ejus tectum perforatum videtur divum, id est, cœlum. Quidam negant sub tecto per hunc de-
jerare oportere. Filius Dium Fidium dicebat Dijovis filium ut Græci
Διόγενος Castorem; & putabat hunc esse Sanctum ex Sabina lingua,
Herculem a Græca.*

In *Zeland* was found an Inscription which bore *Herculi Magazano*. *Vossius* is very much puzzled about this Word, and he sees no reason why *Goropius* changed it to *Marcusano* from the Word *Marc*, which imports a Boundary in the *Gothic* Language; but *Olaus Rudbeck*, who understood that Language better than either *Goropius* or *Vossius*, derives this Word from *ma*, *valere* and *mageo*, *vis*, *potestas*; which is more suitable to this Heroe, since he had never been the God of the Landmarks (a).

I shall not insist here on what has been already said, that every Nation had a *Hercules* of its own; the *Egyptians* called theirs *Ozochor*, or *Chon*. It is he, if we may believe *Diodorus*, that was the General of *Osiris's* Troops, and who, according to an ancient Author, gave his Name to the People in *Italy*, whose Country he had cleared of some Tyrants (1). The *Cretans* surnamed him *Idean*, from Mount *Ida*, which is in their Island. This is that *Hercules*, who, as we learn from *Diodorus* and *Pausanias*, founded and first celebrated the *Olympic* Games long before the Birth of *Alcides*, who likewise celebrated them in his turn.

The latter of these Authors now named, speaks also of a *Hercules* of *Canopus*, a City of *Egypt*; but I take him to be the same with the *Egyptian Hercules*.

The *Indians* named their *Hercules*, according to *Eusebius* (2), *Desanaus*, or as others write it, *Desanas*, *Desinaas*, *Desines*, and *Dasinaus*; *Hesychius* fixes the true Pronunciation Δοράσνας ὁ Ἡρακλῆς πᾶσι Ἰνδοῖς. This is he whom *Cicero* (3) takes to be the same with *Belus*, *quintus in India*, *qui Belus dicitur*; the fifth is *Beius*, who is worshipped in *India*.

The *Tyrians* stiled their *Hercules*, *Melchrates*, according to the Testimony of *Sanctionatbon* in *Eusebius*; and as this Name appears to be the same with that of *Melicerta*, which imports *King of the City*, 'tis probable

(a) See what has been said of this *Hercules Magazanus*, v. 2.

(1) Antiochus Xenophanes, apud L. Giraldi. (2) In Chronic.

(3) De Nat. Deor. l. 3.

bable that this was an ancient King of *Tyre* signalized by his heroic Atchievements. The *Celts*, or the *Gauls*, gave him the Appellation of *Ogmion*. *Vossius* (1) owns his Ignorance as to the Etymology of this Name; but *Olaus Rudbeck* (2) derives it, with a good deal of probability, from the ancient *Gothic* Language, in which *Oggur*, whence the *Celts* formed their *Ogmion*, imported *powerful by Sea*; and *Aggair*, *powerful by Sea and Land*, such as he probably was whom the ancient *Gauls* acknowledged for their *Hercules*.

The *Spaniards*, according to some ancient Authors, gave him the Name of *Endovillicus*, at least we find the Name of this Heroe joined in Inscriptions with that of this Divinity; but I have proved in Vol. II. Book IV. that *Endovillicus* and *Hercules* were different Divinities.

Besides these Names, and some others which I omit because they are easy to be understood, and contain nothing of Importance, *Pausanias* gives him some which are no where else to be met with, on which 'tis proper to insist a little.

That of *Manticus* he had from a Temple that was built to him by a Leader of a Colony of this Name, who came and settled in the Island of *Zacynthus*, now *Zante* (3). That of *Buraicus*, from a Chapel and a Statue which he had in a Grotto, near the River *Bura* (4) where he had also an Oracle, which gave Responses by Dice. In *Beotia* he had the Surname of *Charops*, from a Temple which he had in the Place where he was said to come up when he brought with him the Dog of the God of Hell (5). The Name of *Erythrus* was also given him from a Temple which he had at *Erythrae* in *Achaia* (6). *Pausanias* remarks that the Statue of this God, which is in the Temple of *Erythrae*, resembles the *Egyptian* Statues wrought with Art. The God, says he, is upon a kind of Raft, and the *Erythraeans* say it was thus brought from *Tyre* into *Phenicia*,

(1) De Idol. l. 1. c. 35. (2) Att. c. 53. § 3. (3) In Messen.
(4) In Attic. (5) In Beot. (6) In Achaic.

Phœnicia, by Sea. They add, that the Raft having entered into the *Ionian* Sea, stop'd at *Juno's* Promontory, otherwise *Messara*, half Way between *Erythrae* and *Cbia*. So soon as those of *Erythrae* and *Cbia* perceived the Statue of the God, all strove to have the Honour of drawing it ashore, and to that Effect exerted their utmost Efforts. An *Erythraean*, named *Phor- mis*, a Fisher by Occupation, having lost his Sight by a Disease, was apprized in a Dream, that if the *Erythraean* Women would cut off their Hair, and thereof make a Rope, they might draw ashore the Raft without any Difficulty. When none of the Women of *Erythrae* thought fit to comply with the Dream, some *Thracian* Women, who, tho' free born, were in Slavery at *Erythrae*, made a Sacrifice of their Hair: By this Means the *Erythraeans* got the Statue of the God in their Possession; and to reward the Zeal of those *Thracian* Women, enacted that they alone should have the Liberty of entering into *Hercules's* Temple. Those of that City, continues the same Author, shew at this Day the Rope made of Hair, and carefully preserve it: As to the Fisher, we are assured that he recover'd his Sight, and had the Enjoyment of it the rest of his Days.

Hercules was surnamed *Hippodetes* (1), in a Plain of *Beotia*, call'd the Plain of *Tenerus*, from the Name of a Soothsayer, who was the Son of *Apollo* and *Melia*; and this Name was given him, because the Army of the *Orchomenians* having come into that Place, *Hercules*, by Night, tied their Horses to their Chariots, and entangled them so, that the next Day the Enemy could not make Use of them.

The Surname of *Promachus* (2) derived its Original from a Temple which was called by the same Name, and was consecrated to this God, near the City *Thebes*, where he had a wooden Statue, of a very ancient Taste, which was believed to be done by *Dedalus*; and another of white Marble, the Work of *Xenocritus* of *Thebes*. A little further, in the open Field, was to be seen a

(1) In *Beot.*

(2) *Ibid.*

Statue of *Hercules*, surnamed *Rhinoclystes* (1), because he cut off the Noses of the Heralds of the *Orchomenians*, who came to demand Tribute of the *Thebans*.

We find also, in antient Authors, several other Names or Epithets of *Hercules*, but they are either such as are easy to be understood, or the Commentators have taken Care to explain them.

This would be the proper Place to speak of the different Figures of *Hercules*, which Time has preserved to us; but as they are to be seen in the Antiquaries, *Beger* having collected them into one Volume, I shall not tire the Patience of the Reader by dwelling longer upon this Subject. All I shall observe is, that our Heroe usually appears under the Figure of a strong robust Man, with a Club in his Hand, and clad in the Lion's Skin of *Nemea*, which he sometimes wears over his Shoulder, and sometimes it covers his Head in a very coarse Manner. Be it owing to the Fancy of the Engraver, or to some Mystery which we know not, so it happens, that he is sometimes represented in Attitudes, and with Symbols that are singular; but one Glance of the Eye upon the Figures themselves will teach the Reader more than a long Dissertation.

I said he was represented as a robust Man; and tho' the Exploits he performed did not prove him to have been so, the Picture of him drawn by *Dicearchus*, quoted by *Clement* of *Alexandria*, would be sufficient to convince us of it; since that ancient Author tells us he was extremely nervous, of a square Figure, a swarthy Complexion, with an Eagle Nose, big Eyes, a thick Beard, &c. to which the Philosopher *Hieronymus* adds curled Hair, and horridly negligent.

(1) In Beot.

C H A P. VII.

An Abridgment of the History of Hercules's Successors, to the Time of their Re-establishment in the Peloponnesus.

CEYX had the Care of the Education of our Hero's Children, which inspired *Eurystheus* with so much Jealousy least they should very soon be in a Condition to avenge their Father, that he threatened the King of *Trachine* to make War upon him, if he did not dismiss them from his Court, together with *Iolaus*, and the Troops that had served under this Heroe. *Ceyx*, terrified with these Menaces, pray'd them to depart; and *Epalius*, King of the *Dorians*, gave them a favourable Reception, and even adopted *Hillus*, whom *Hercules* had by *Dejanira*, thereby acknowledging the Obligation he owed to his Father, who had restored him to his Dominions. Again being obliged to quit that Court, they retired to *Athens* to *Theseus*, the Relation and Friend of *Hercules*, who gave them a Settlement in *Attica*. In the mean Time, *Eurystheus* having led an Army against them, the *Athenians* opposed him with all their Forces, and gave him Battle, under the Conduct of *Theseus* and *Hillus*, put him to Flight, and *Hillus* slew *Eurystheus* with his own Hand. The whole Family of that unfortunate Prince was cut off in this Battle. Thus ended that Branch of *Perseus's* Successors; and the Crown of *Mycenæ*, which had continued a long Time in his Family, devolved upon that of *Pelops*; *Atræus* his Son, the Governor of *Mycenæ* (1), having got himself declared King thereof, after the Death of *Eurystheus*. The *Heraclidæ*, after his Defeat, retired into the *Peloponnesus*, and made themselves Masters of it: but the Pestilence having begun to lay waste their Army, Recourse was had to the Oracle, and the Answer was, that they having entered too soon into that Country, there was no Way for them to put a Stop to the Calamity, but by departing speedily, and they accordingly obey'd the Oracle.

Having

(1) He was also his Brother-in-law.

Having re-enter'd thither three Years after, according to the Interpretation they had put upon the Response of the Oracle, which had bid them wait for the third Crop, *Atreus* opposed them with his Troops, and gave them Battle, where *Thomacus*, one of the Chiefs of the *Heraclide*, was slain. *Hillus* seeing the War likely to continue, sent the Enemy a Challenge to fight with any one who should accept of it, on Condition that if he was victorious, *Atreus* should be obliged to resign the Crown to the *Heraclide*, his lawful Successors; but if he was defeated, his Descendants should not be permitted to re-enter the *Peloponnesus* till Eighty (1) or a Hundred Years after (2). *Ecbemus*, the King of *Tegea* in *Arcadia*, accepted the Challenge, slew *Hillus*, and, according to the Treaty, obliged the *Heraclide* to quit the *Peloponnesus*, and *Atreus* remain'd King of *Mycene*.

Cleodeus, the Son of *Hillus*, made an Attempt, but in vain, to re-enter thither some Time after; in which Enterprize *Aristomachus* his Son lost his Life. His three other Sons, *Themenes*, *Gbresphontes*, and *Aristodemus*, having equipped a Fleet at *Naupactus*, renewed the same Attempt, so much did this Conquest lie at their Heart. While they were drawing the Troops together, *Arnus*, a famous Soothsayer of that Time, arrived at *Naupactus*; but *Hyppopotus*, the Son of *Phylas*, and Grandson of *Hercules*, who took him for a Spy, having put him to Death, the Pestilence began to ravage the Camp. Upon this, the Oracle was consulted, according to Custom, and the Answer was, that *Apollo*, by this Plague, was avenging the Death of his Prophet, and that if they would appease the God, the Murderer must be banished, and Funeral Games instituted in Honour of *Arnus*, which accordingly was put in Execution, and those Games were afterwards very famous, especially at *Lacedemon*.

The *Heraclide* resolving after this to set Sail, would needs, before their Departure, consult the Oracle, which ordered them to chuse for their Leader one who

(1) Vell. 1. Sup. c. 21. (2) Schol. upon Thuc. 1. 1.

. VII. *explained by* HISTORY. 129

iree Eyes. *Oxilus*, an *Etolian* by Birth, blind Eye, whom they found in their Way, mounted orickback, was reputed to be the Man whom the had mark'd out to lead them, and him they for their Head. He being a Man of natural ge, and animated besides with the Hope of ob- *Elis* for his Property, urged their Departure, air Fleet being very soon got ready, they made ent upon the *Peloponnesus*. The *Acbeans* and , who had derived their Names from *Ion* and , the Sons of *Xutus*, were the next who took ion of that Province. The *Heracidae* drove out of *Argos*, *Lacedemon*, and *Mycenæ*, and among them these three Cities; *Temenes* had the *tristodemus* the second, and *Mycenæ* fell to *Cbre-* s, who afterwards made himself also Master of e, whence he banished the Descendants of *Nestor*, n, and *Peon*, who fled for Refuge to *Aibens*. n *Epitus*, after him, succeeded to the Crown of , and gave the Name of *Epitides* to the Kings cessors. The one-eyed *Oxilius* got *Elis*, which en promised him: *Ipbitus*, who renewed the ic Games, is noted among his Descendants. non remained in the Possession of the two Sons odemus, *Eurysthenes* and *Procles*; which made nes of *Spartan* Kings, who reigned there a long

The ancient Inhabitants of *Argos* and *Lacede-* dled in the Cities which the *Ionians* possessed in , to which they gave the Name of *Achaia*.

: Time after, *Aletes*, one of the *Heracidae*, in or the Murder of *Arnus* the Diviner, whom his had slain at *Naupactus*; seized upon *Corinth*, he Posterity of *Sisyphus* had possessed till then. : was peopled almost the whole *Peloponnesus*, Successors of *Hercules*, who had been expelled ence by the *Pelopide*.

hese Revolutions were not brought about, as : seen, at the same Time. After the Death of , *Hillus*, and the other *Heracidae*, continued a r two at *Trachine*. Being obliged to depart

thence, they repaired to *Athens*, where they lived for some Time; and it was not till the End of eight Years, that *Eurystheus*, the irreconcilable Enemy to *Hercules's* Name, came and attacked them. This War lasted three Years, and he was slain in the fourth.

This Return of the *Heraclidae* into the *Peloponnesus*, having fallen out eighty Years before the taking of *Troy*, makes one of the principal *Æra's* of the *Greek* History, and that which is best marked in their Annals. Were it not for what has been now said, we should be at a Loss to know that Part of *Greece* which was called the *Peloponnesus*, which comprehended several petty Kingdoms, to which the Descendants of *Hercules* furnished Kings for a long Series of Generations.

C H A P. VIII.

The Sequel of the History of Theseus.

THESEUS had too great a Connection with *Hercules* his Kinsman, whom he had accompanied in almost all his Expeditions, not to subjoin his History to that of the Heroe: And tho' we have been obliged to speak of him upon Occasion of *Minos* II. I judged, however, that the rest of his Adventures required a separate Article.

Besides what Accounts we have of *Theseus* from *Diodorus Siculus*, *Apollodorus*, and in general all the Mythologists, *Plutarch* has written his Life, at great length, and *Meursius* has carefully collected all that is to be known of him from Antiquity; but the Illustrations of that judicious Critic have not always given Light to these two Compilers. We shall endeavour to shew that Fault, and examine the Facts which we advance.

Egeus, the ninth King of *Athens*, and of the Race of *Erechtheus* (a), having no Issue, and seeing new Parties

(a) Here is his Genealogy. *Erichthonius*, or *Erechtheus*, the Son of *Vulcan* and *Minerva*, or rather of *Cranæus*.

Pandion I.

Erechtheus,

Cecrops,

Pandion II.

Egeus,

Theseus.

By the Mother's Side he derived his Original from *Pelops* the Son of *Tantalus*, who was the Father of *Pitheus*, of whom was born *Atreus*.

Parties still formed against him, went to *Delphi*, to consult the Oracle of *Apollo*, and the Priests order'd him to have no Commerce with any Woman, before he returned to *Athens*. This Injunction was but ill obey'd; for *Egeus* having gone to *Trezene* (1), the sage *Pitheus*, whom he inform'd that the *Pallantides* his Nephews (2) were beginning to form a Conspiracy against him, because they saw he had no Children, gave him privately in Marriage his Daughter *Ethra*. *Egeus* set out some Time after on his Return to *Athens*; and *Pitheus*, who was unwilling to discover the Match, for Fear of incurring the Enmity of the Sons of *Pallas*, in order to save the Honour of his Daughter, who was with Child, gave out, that *Neptune*, the great Divinity of *Trezene*, had fallen in Love with her, which made *Theseus* pass for the Son of that God.

Egeus, at setting out from *Trezene*, had put his Sword and his Shoes under a large Stone, and recommended to *Ethra*, that if she was delivered of a Male Child, she would not send him to him till he was able to lift that Stone. *Pitheus*, the most renown'd for Wisdom in that Age, took great Care of the Education of young *Theseus*, and gave him for his Governor *Chronidas*, who, by his Application and Abilities, answered so well the Intentions of his Pupil's Grandfather, that the *Athenians* afterwards honoured him as a Demi-God, sacrificing to him every Year a Ram, on the Day that preceded the Feast of *Theseus*: thus doing Honour, as *Plutarch* remarks, with more Reason and Justice, to the Memory of him who had formed their Heroe's Manners, than to *Silanus* and *Parrhasius*, who had only made Statues and Pictures of him.

When *Ethra* his Mother saw her Son robust and full grown, she led him to the Place where his Father had concealed the Sword; he lifted the Stone, took his Father's Sword, and resolved to go and make himself

K 2

known

(1) *Plutarch* in *Theseo*. *Diodor.* l. 4. and some others.

(2) They were the Sons of *Pallas* his Brother. *Pandion* had left four Sons, *Egeus*, *Lycus*, *Pallas*, and *Nisus*, and had left to each of them a Part of his Kingdom.

known at *Athens*, in spite of the Remonstrances of Grandfather, who represented to him the Danger which he was going to expose himself, the Ways had to pass from the *Peloponnesus* to *Athens* being full of Robbers, upon account of *Hercules's* Absence, he was then in *Lydia* with *Omphale*. *Pithecus* there omitted nothing that might have Influence to divert his Grandson from his Purpose, or at least to oblige him to travel by Sea. He gave him a Description of the Robbers one after another, and set forth to him all cruel Treatment they used towards Strangers; but the Glory and Valour of *Hercules* had now of a long Time enflamed his Courage: He esteemed nothing in Comparison of him, and listened always with eager Attention to those who entertained him with a Description of the Heroe's Person, especially to such as had seen him, and were capable to inform him in any of the Particulars of his Life, to which they had been Eye-Witnesses. Thus he was raised to such Admiration of the Life of *Hercules*, that his Actions became the Subject of his Dreams by Night, fired his Soul with a noble Emulation Day, and animated him to an ardent Desire of imitating the great Example.

The Relation that was between them still heightened his Emulation; for they were Sons of two Cousins Germans, his Mother *Etbra* being the Daughter of *Pithecus*, and *Alcmena* again the Daughter of *Lyfippe*. Now *Lyfippe* and *Pithecus* were the Offspring of *Hippodamia* and *Peleus*. He was therefore filled with conscious Shame and Indignation to think that *Hercules* should have travelled all the World over in Pursuit of Freebooters, and such like, of whom he cleared both Sea and Land; whereas he, on the contrary, shut up the Opportunity of encountering those who came in his Way; thus dishonouring, by such base Conduct, the Memory of him who was, by the Report of the People, his reputed Father, and having no other Trophy to carry it to his real Father but Shoes and a Sword, instead of appearing before him crown'd with Glory. Thus he set out courageously, resolving to attack no Man but to stand bravely to his own Defence.

It was not long before he met with Adventures: as he was passing thro' the Lands of *Epidaurus*, near the *Sarronic* Gulf, which was the Way that led from *Trezen* to the *Isthmus*; *Periphetes*, who was armed with a Club, and was therefore called *the Club-bearer*, had the Insolence to come up to him, and stop him: *Theseus* fought and slew him, and, overjoyed at having made himself Master of his Club, bore it always about with him, as *Hercules* wore the Lion's Skin. That Skin served to shew the enormous Size of the Beast which *Hercules* had slain; and the Club which *Theseus* bore, shewed that it was capable of being won from the Hands of a *Periphetes*, but that it was impregnable in his. From thence traversing the *Isthmus* of *Corinth*, he punished *Sinius the Pine-bender*, in the same manner as that Giant had put several Passengers to Death. Not that he had ever learned any such Art, or had been exercised therein; but he shewed, by that Essay, that Valour is always superior to Art and Exercise. This *Sinius* had a Daughter, grown up, and very handsome, named *Perigone*, who, upon her Father's Death, had fled: *Theseus* went every where in quest of her; but she had hid herself in a thick Wood, over-grown with Reeds and Sparagus, which she invoked with a Childish Simplicity, as if they had been capable of hearing her, praying them to hide her well, and save her from being discovered; and promising them with an Oath, that if they did her that Piece of Service, she would never pluck them up, nor burn them. In the mean time, *Theseus* called out to her, and made her a promise that he would take Care of her, and do her no Injury. *Perigone*, moved with these Promises, came forth from her Hiding-Place, and delivered herself up to him. *Theseus* had by her a Daughter, who was called *Menalipe*. Her he gave afterwards in Marriage to *Deioneus*, the Son of *Eurytus* King of *Æcbalia*. By this Marriage was born *Ioxus*, who, together with *Eurytus*, was Chief of the Colony that was led to *Caria*, whence came the *Iaxides*, who, from Father to Son, preserved the Custom,

not to burn nor pluck up the Reeds and Sparagus ; but, on the contrary, to pay them a sort of religious Regard, and particular Veneration.

There was then at *Crommyon*, a Sow which was called *Pbaia*, which was no contemptible Animal ; being both very dangerous, and very difficult to be overcome. *Theseus* traced out the Animal, encountred and slew it, that it might not be thought Necessity alone had reduced him to undertake all his Exploits ; and besides, being persuaded that a virtuous Person ought to encounter bad Men, only by way of Self-defence from their Insults, but that it is his Duty to seek out the fierce wild Beasts, and to attack them first. Others, however, tell us, that this *Pbaia* was a Woman of *Crommyon*, who prostituted herself to all Comers, and who lived on Murders and Robberies ; that she was called a Sow, upon account of her corrupt Manners and bad Life, and that she was at last put to Death by *Theseus*.

Near the Frontiers of *Megara* he defeated *Sciron*, and threw him from the Top of the Rocks into the Sea ; because he robb'd Passengers ; or, according to others, because, thro' an insupportable Insolence and Pride, he presented his Feet to Strangers, which he ordered them to wash, and while they were doing it, he pushed them down headlong from the Rocks. 'tis true, the Historians of *Megara*, combating against Length of Time, as says *Simonides*, oppose this Tradition, and maintain, that *Sciron* was neither a Robber, nor a bad Man ; but, on the contrary, the declared Enemy of that Sort of People, and the Friend of the just and virtuous : for every Body knows, say they, *Æacus* was esteemed the most holy Man of his Time ; it is as certain that *Cycbreus*, the *Salaminian*, had divine Honours paid him at *Athens*, and the Virtue of *Peleus* and *Telamon* is well known. Now *Sciron* was the Son-in-law of *Cycbreus*, and *Æacus*'s Father-in-law, and Grandfather of *Peleus* and *Telamon*, who were both born of the Nymph *Endeis*, the Daughter of *Ghariclo* and *Sciron* : it is not therefore likely that the greatest and
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most virtuous Persons in Greece, would have contracted Alliance with a Robber, by taking from him, and giving him what Men hold most sacred, and of highest Value. The same Historians add, that *Theseus* did not kill *Sciron* in his first Voyage to *Athens*, but a long Time after, when he took *Eleusis*, which was then in the Possession of the *Megarians*, and banished from thence *Diocles*, who was the Governor thereof.

In passing thro' *Eleusis*, he had a Wrestling Match with *Cercyon* the *Arcadian*, and worsted him. From thence arriving at *Hermione*, he put to Death the Giant *Damastes*, who was called *Procrustes*, that is, who stretches by force, by obliging him to equal the Dimensions of his Bed, as he had done to his Guests: And *Theseus* followed this Rule in Imitation of *Hercules*, who punished those who attacked him with the same kind of Death, which they had prepared for him. Thus it was he sacrificed *Busiris*, strangled *Anteus* in wrestling with him, slew *Cygnus* in a single Combat, beat out *Temerus's* Brains, whence came the Proverb, *the Temerian Evil*; for 'tis probable that *Temerus* broke the Heads of Passengers, by dashing his own against theirs. *Theseus* went on punishing in like manner the Infesters of Society, and, with Justice, exercised upon them the same Punishment which they had unjustly inflicted upon others.

Theseus having arrived upon the Banks of the *Cephalus*, found there the Family of the *Pyralides*, who were come to purify him with all the customary Ceremonies. After having staid some Days in that Place, he entered *Athens* on the eighth of the Month *Hecatombæon*, which answers to the Month of *June*, and he found that City in strange Confusion; *Egeus*, his Father, giving himself up to the Management of *Medea*, who promised, by her Drugs, to procure him Children. After having staid there some Days, he made himself known, at the Time that *Medea* was going to poison him, as we learn from *Plutarch*; but this appears not conform to Truth: For either *Theseus* had been at the Conquest of the Golden Fleece before he went to *Athens*, as several

ral Authors will have it, and in that Case, he was certainly known to *Medea*, with whom he had performed that long Voyage; or the Conquest of the *Argonauts* had not yet happened, and then *Medea* could not be at *Athens* when *Theseus* arrived there, since it was *Jason* brought her from *Colchis*; thus I cannot understand how the Thing could happen as *Plutarch* relates it. This Author did not always give himself the Trouble to examine the Facts he delivers; and being but a Transcriber of what he had read, he has not always remembered in one Place what he had said in another. And indeed, if *Theseus* found *Medea* at *Athens* for the first Time, at his coming thither from *Trezen*, how could he have been in *Colchis*? That Author, however, adopts the Opinion of those who asserted that he had made that Voyage, and he seems to me to have copied *Ovid* rather than good Historians. I reckon it is better to say that *Theseus*, returning from some of his Voyages after a long Absence, got Information that his Father had married *Medea*; and that she, dreading his Return, formed a Faction against him, and perhaps having even attempted to poison him, to secure the Crown to the Child whereof she was pregnant, *Theseus* got her banished from the Court.

The *Pallantidae*, upon *Theseus's* being acknowledged, could not contain their Resentment, and having divided themselves into two Bodies, would have given no small Trouble to that Prince, had it not been for the Treachery of *Leos*, one of their Leaders, who having declared the whole Plot, *Theseus* made so good Use of his Information, as to defeat the one Party, and put the other to flight, confirming, by that Victory, his Father's tottering Power: after this, he went to *Trezen*, to receive Expiation.

Some time after, having undertaken a Voyage to *Crete*, he delivered his Country, as has been said, from the Tribute which it payed to *Minos* the second; but upon his Return, he found that his Father was dead. Then it was he laboured to put in Execution a Scheme he had formed long before, to reduce into one Body
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of a City all the Inhabitants of *Attica*, who till then had been dispersed in several Villages. He met with considerable Opposition, especially from the Rich, and he reduced them only by giving them the Promise of a popular Form of Government, wherein he reserved to himself only the Power of making War, and of seeing to the Execution of the Laws. As in every City there was a Court where the Assemblies were held, and public Affairs decided, without having recourse to the Sovereign, except on Occasions of the utmost Importance, which was a considerable Limitation of his Authority; he began with the demolishing of these, suppressed the Magistrates who administered Justice therein, built for himself an Edifice to serve for that Purpose, gave the Name of *Athens* to the new City, and united all the People by a Sacrifice and common Festival called the *Panathenaia*, which he substituted to the *Athenians* in place of that which every City celebrated in particular. To this Feast he joined another, which by its Name *Metœicia*, or the *Removal*, perpetuated the Memory of the Change he had introduced.

After having executed so critical an Undertaking, *Theseus* went to consult the Oracle of *Delphi*, to know in what manner he was to govern this new People; and the Answer given him was, that he ought by all means to beware of ruling in an arbitrary Manner. Upon his return to *Athens*, he preferred the popular to monarchic Government, reserving to himself however the Power of seeing to the Observance of the Laws; and his whole Thoughts were employed in the right Regulation of the rising Republic, whereof he was always the Head. This Form of Government, then absolutely new in *Greece*, invited a great many People to *Athens*; and to hinder that promiscuous Rendezvous of People from introducing thither Disorder and Confusion, he divided the whole into three Bodies. The first was composed of the Nobles, the second of the Artisans, and the third of the Labourers, and to each he granted Privileges, whereof they had the peaceable Possession. We know how far the second of these Bodies carried
afterwards

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afterwards their Improvements, especially in the Works of Sculpture and Painting.

Pausanias observes, that it was for having thus persuaded all the People of *Attica* to unite in one City, henceforth to make but one People, that he introduced the Worship of the Goddess *Pitbo*, or *Persuasion*, and that of *Venus*, because this Goddess was to be the common Bond of all the People. *Theseus* not satisfied that Peace should reign only in the City, if it did not extend also to the neighbouring People, in order to remove the Grounds of Quarrel which might have arisen about the Extent of their Territory, he regulated the Limits thereof, and with the unanimous Consent of the *Ionians* and *Peloponnesians* set up a Pillar, on which was engraved this Inscription : *What lies to the East is Ionia ; what lies to the West, belongs to the Peloponnesus.*

As Religion always was the Bond which most strongly unites People, otherwise separated by different Interests, he renewed in Honour of *Neptune* the *Isthmic* Games, which had been long disused, since they were first instituted by *Sisyphus* King of *Corinth*, on Occasion of *Melicerta's* Deification ; and as probably they were only celebrated by Night, resembling rather a Funeral Pageant, than a Festival, he order'd them henceforth to be solemnized by Day, and that with a Magnificence becoming the God of the Sea. As *Hercules* and he had cleared *Greece* of that vast Number of Robbers who infested it, and who without Mercy put those to the Sword whom Devotion drew to those Games, they were now frequented with Safety, and the Concourse of People that flock'd thither from all Quarters, made the Celebration of them very solemn. Nor is it only *Plutarch*, supported by the Testimony of Historians more ancient than he, that relates this Fact ; the Chronicle of *Paros* gives a Detail of the different Celebrations of these Games, which gives this Narration all the Weight it requires ; this Chronicle, as is known, being the most authentic Voucher we have. All these Changes fell out, according to *Eusebius*, during the first Year of *Theseus's*

us's Reign, or according to other Historians, in no first.

As far I may flatter myself that I have sufficiently ordered the Order of Chronology in the Recital of us's Actions; in the Sequel it will be easy for the Reader to range the Facts according to the *Æras* which are established for the Events in which he was concerned: For there was not one in that Age so celebrated for Heroes, wherein he did not act a Part. All Antiquity attests, that he was at the War of the Centaurs with *Hercules* his near Relation, and *Pirithous* his intimate Friend; and to mention it by the by, their Friendship had commenced upon an Occasion which seemed to have set them at Variance for ever. *Pirithous* struck with the glorious Account of *Theseus's* high exploits, resolved to measure Swords with him, and at an Opportunity to pick a Quarrel with him; when these two Heroes met, they were struck with mutual Admiration of each other, their Heart disclosed itself without any Disguise, they embraced one another instead of fighting, and swore to maintain eternal Friendship.

Theseus, according to the most probable Opinion, was also in the Conquest of the Golden Fleece. 'Tis indubitable Doubt that he was likewise at the Hunting of the Boar, and at the War which followed it; to this the Ancients are agreed. Tho' he had not been engaged in the Quarrel of the two hostile Brothers, 'tis certain however, that he obliged *Creon* to give Burial to the Athenians who had died in the first War of *Thebes*; in a second War, there was no Expedition, no War in all those Wars wherein he did not bear a considerable Part; not to mention the Bull of *Marathon*, which laid waste all the Plains of *Tetrapolis*, and was taken by him alive, offered in Sacrifice to *Apollo* at *Delphi* (a); so that we have a current Proverb, *Nothing without Theseus*,

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Pausanias, who relates the same Fact, says he sacrificed it to *Apollo*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, who agrees with *Plutarch*, adds, that *Theseus's* Father performed the Sacrifice; but these small Variations, instead of weakening the Credibility of the Fact, rather con-

Non sine Theseo. A new, and at the same Time an uncontested Argument that the Events of that fabulous Age, whereof we have seen the History, were not at so great a Distance from one another, as is commonly believed, and that they may be reduced, without Danger of deviating from the Truth, to the *Æras* I have fixed.

The Expedition of this Heroe against the *Amazons* is also reckoned by the Ancients in the Number of his Actions. For that end, we are told, he went to the Banks of the *Thermodon*, and after having given them Battle returned to *Greece*. 'Tis further said, that those Heroines came afterwards and invaded *Attica*, attacking *Theseus* in the very Centre of his own Dominions; but he routed them, and took *Antiope* Prisoner, by whom he had the unfortunate *Hippolitus*. But we must not dissemble that several Authors take both the Voyage and War for a mere Fiction (a). In the mean Time, were I to support the Truth thereof, I might quote several ancient Historians, cited by *Plutarch*, who would favour me; and what is still stronger, a great Number of Monuments scattered up and down in different Places of *Attica*, to attest that these Heroines came thither to make War.

Be that as it will, to come to something more certain, all Antiquity agrees that this Heroe, already signalized by a thousand glorious Actions, having heard of the Beauty of young *Helen* the Daughter of *Tyndarus* resolved to carry her off, tho' she was then but ten Years of Age, or only seven, according to some Ancients; and he himself was then fifty at least. Thus having taken with him his dear *Pirithous*, the faithful Companion of his Travels, he went to *Sparta* and carried her off. They drew Lots for her, says *Plutarch* (1), and she having fallen to *Theseus*, he bound himself to go with his Friend to carry off the Wife of *Aidoneus*. According to their Agreement, he left *Helen* at

(a) See what has been said on this Subject in the History of *Hercules*.

(1) In *Theseo*.

at *Aphidnes* in the Hands of his Mother *Ethra*, and then went to *Epirus* with *Piritbous*, to carry off *Proserpine* the Wife of *Aidoneus*. This second Enterprize did not succeed so well with him as the first; *Piritbous* was slain therein, or devoured by the Dogs of that Prince; and *Theseus* detained Prisoner (a) was released by *Hercules*, who having demanded him of *Aidoneus*, as the greatest Obligation he could lay upon him, he gave him up to him frankly, as has been said in the History of that Heroe.

It was this Voyage, to mention it transiently, that furnished the Poets with a Handle to say, for Reasons already assigned elsewhere, that this Heroe had descended to the infernal Regions, on which a Poem was founded, intitled, *The Descent of Theseus into Hell*. Our Heroe set at Liberty from his Imprisonment went home to his own Dominions, where his Party weakened every Day. His first Care was to testify his Gratitude to his Deliverer, for which Purpose he consecrated to him the Parks and the Lands he had got from the *Athenians*, and which were from that Time no more called *Theſſia*, but *Heracleia*. *Philocorus*, in *Plutarch* informs us, that he reserved to himself only four Fields and Parks.

I said *Helen* is reckoned to have been but ten Years of Age when *Theseus* carried her off; it must be owned, however, that ancient Authors affirm she was older; that *Theseus*, before he set out for *Epirus*, left her pregnant with his Mother, and that she was delivered of a Daughter. As *Pausanias* is the only one of the Ancients that has related this Fact with all its Circumstances, I shall transcribe his Account of it (1): "Not far from a Temple of *Neptune*, says that Author, there is another, dedicated to *Lucina*, and consecrated by *Helen*, when she was brought to *Lacedemon*, after the Departure of *Piritbous* and *Theseus* for *Theſſprotia*, and after that *Castor* and *Pollux* had taken the City *Aphidnes*; for it is alledged that she was
" then

(a) See the History of *Pluta*, and that of *Hercules*.

(1) In *Corinth*.

“ then pregnant by *Theseus*, and that being delivered
 “ at *Argos*, she built that Temple in Honour of *Luci-*
 “ *cina*. We are told further, that she was delivered
 “ of a Daughter, whose Education was committed to
 “ *Clytemnestra*, who was then *Agamemnon*’s Wife, and
 “ that afterwards *Helen* herself was married to *Mene-*
 “ *laus*. And indeed, *Sleſichorus* of *Himera*, and after
 “ him *Euphorian* of *Chalcis*, and *Alexander* of *Pleuron*,
 “ &c. are therein agreed with the *Argives*, and have
 “ all three attested in their Poems, that *Helen* had a
 “ Daughter by *Theseus*, named *Iphigenia*.”

This is that Princess, whose Character the famous *Racine*, who gives her the Name of *Erypbile*, has so finely drawn in his Tragedy of *Iphigenia*, and whom he makes to have been carried off from *Lesbos*, where she lived, by *Achilles*, when before the Departure of the *Greeks*, he had made himself Master of that City.

During the Absence of *Theseus*, *Castor* and *Pollux* having taken up Arms, made themselves Masters of *Arbidnes*, and released *Helen* their Sister, whom they brought back to *Sparta* with *Ethra*, who thereby became the Slave of *Helen*, who carried her to *Troy*, where she was afterwards ravished by *Paris*. *Pausanias* (1) explaining a fine Picture of *Polygnotus*, adds, that *Ethra* was therein represented with her Head shaved, as a Mark of her Slavery, and *Demophoon* her Grandson in the Posture of a Man in Distress, anxious to have her set at Liberty. The same Author says, the Painter must needs have read the Poet *Lescheus*, who in his Works writes, that *Demophoon* seeing in the *Grecian* Camp *Ethra*, with the other Slaves, after the taking of *Troy*, demanded her of *Agamemnon*, but that he gave her not up till *Helen* had given her Consent to it. *Plutarch* is therefore in the wrong to refute this Circumstance of the History whereof the Tragic Poets make mention, and *Eliau* too; so that *Pausanias*, we see, is not the only one who speaks of it.

The same *Plutarch* also refutes the History of *Munius*, or *Municus*, who was, we are told, the Son of *Demo-*

(1) In *Phoc.*

Demopboon and *Laodice*, *Priam's* Daughter. Another Circumstance is, that *Etbra*, who was *Helen's* Slave, took Care of that Child, whose Birth, and the Amours of his Father and Mother, were a secret Adventure. The same Author, citing a Verse from the third Book of the *Iliad*, wherein *Homer*, speaking of *Helen's* Slaves, names *Etbra* the Daughter of *Pitheus*, says several Authors consider that Verse as spurious. The History of the Captivity of *Theseus's* Mother is however very well confirmed by the Authors I have cited: And I know not what *M. Dacier* means in his Note upon that Verse in *Homer*, where he says, "For they reckon (that is, they who hold this Verse to be spurious) "it "is not probable that *Homer* would have given the Appellation of *Helen's* Waiting-Maid to *Etbra*, who "was her Mother-in-Law, and who had reigned at "Athens." He seems to suppose that *Theseus* had married that Princess, and that she was consequently *Etbra's* Daughter-in-law. 'Tis certain, however, that *Helen* was then very young, and a Child, as the same *Plutarch* tells us; and that *Theseus*, after having carried her off, concealed her at *Apbidnes*, and saw her no more, the *Tyndaridae* having set her at Liberty, while he was confined in *Aidoneus's* Prison. Again, Where did he find that *Etbra* had reigned at *Athens* with her Son?

Plutarch says it was one named *Academus* that pointed out to the *Tyndaridae* the Place where their Sister was: But he is mistaken, and it is better to adhere to *Herodotus* (1), who affirms that *Apbidnes* was taken by the Treachery of *Titacus*. From thence the *Tyndaridae* went to *Athens*, where they were very well received by the *Pallantidae*. We are further told, that they even expell'd from that City the Children of *Theseus*, and strengthened the Party of the *Pallantidae*, who gave them, upon that Occasion, the Name of *Anaces*. *Eliau* attributes all this to *Mnestheus*, the Successor of *Theseus*. The Passage in that Author is to this Effect: *Mnestheus, the Son of Pethcus, shew'd not himself ungrateful to the*

(1) L 3.

the Tyndaridæ: For, in regard that they expelled Theseus's Children, led Captive his Mother Ethra, and restored to him the Kingdom of Athens, he was the first who called them Anaces, or Anaetes; because, in Fact, they had taken great Care of the Athenians, and of their City. This Word, in the Greek Language, comes from Anassein, to take Care; hence Kings were called Anaetes, because they have, or ought to have, the Care of their People.

The rest of *Theseus's* Life was nothing but one continued Series of Misfortunes. I shall not resume what I have said in the History of *Minos* the second, of the Adventures that befel him in his Expedition to *Crete*; but I shall observe here, that *Phedra* was, in part, the Cause of all those Disasters. It is well known that she being in Love with *Hippolitus*, whom *Theseus* had by the Amazon *Antiope*, but finding him insensible, accused him to her Husband, when he was returned from *Epirus*, for having attempted to debauch her; that he, without examining so odious an Affair to the Bottom, devoted him to *Neptune*, who put him to a miserable Death,

On the other Hand, the *Pallantide*, taking Advantage of his Absence, had redoubled their Cabals, and gained over several of those who still adhered to him at his setting out; insomuch, that when he would have continued to govern as before, he only raised Seditions and Disorders thereby in the City; for they who hated him at his Departure, joined Insolence and Contempt to Hatred; and the People was now so corrupted and debauched, that instead of being pliable, and giving voluntary Obedience, as they had done formerly, they would needs be flatter'd and caressed. He tried to reduce them by Force; but finding this only inflamed the Disease, and that there were now no Means of re-establishing his Affairs, he sent secretly his Children into *Eubœa*, to *Elphenor* the Son of *Chalcodon*, and as for himself, he repaired to the Village of *Gaiette*, poured out Imprecations upon the *Athenians*, in a Place which is called at this Day, *the Place of Maledictions*, and embarked

barked for the Island of *Scyros*, where he thought to have found Friends, and where he had some Estate by his Father's Side. *Lycomedes* was then King of that Island. *Theseus*, upon his Arrival at his Court, begged of him only to restore him his Lands, that he might be able there to pass the Remainder of his Days. Others will have it, that he applied to him for Assistance against the *Athenians*. *Lycomedes*, either jealous of a Person of such high Character, or being gained over by *Mnestheus*, led him up to the highest Mountain, as with an Intention to shew him the Island, and then threw him down headlong from a Rock. There are Historians however, who write that he fell of himself, having unhappily stumbled as he was walking one Evening after Supper, as his manner was. There was no immediate Examination made into the Manner of his Death. *Mnestheus* reigned at *Athens* in Peace, while the Sons of *Theseus* in the Quality of private Persons, accompanied *Elphenor* to the War of *Troy*; but after the Death of *Mnestheus*, they returned to *Athens*, and re-ascended the Throne. The *Æra* of this Heroe's Death ought to be placed, if we may believe the *Patrian* Marbles, in the thirteenth Year of *Mnestheus*'s Reign. Now that Prince had already reigned two Years, when *Theseus* died in the Island of *Scyros*. 'Tis very probable, as able Chronologists alledge, that his Father *Egeus* had admitted him to share the Crown in his Lifetime; if this was not the Case, we will find difficulty to adjust the Chronology of those Times. *Theseus* must have been pretty far advanced in Years, being born about seventy Years before the Siege of *Troy*, and fourscore before the Destruction of that City. *Hercules* older than he, was dead about twenty or twenty-five Years before. Thus it was only in his Youth, and after his Departure from *Trezene*, that *Theseus* accompanied that Heroe in most of his Expeditions.

Theseus had three Wives; *Antiope* the Queen of the *Amazons*, by whom he had *Hippolitus*: of him we shall speak in the History of *Phædra*; *Ariadne*, by whom, according to some Authors he had *Oenopion* and *Staphilus*.

philus; and *Phedra*, by whom he had *Demophoon*, who ascended the Throne after the Death of *Mnestheus*, which happened while he was returning from the *Trojan War*.

Theseus had signalized himself by too many illustrious Achievements not to be ranked after his Death among the Heroes or Demi-Gods. He had even shewed some Piety to the Gods notwithstanding all the Irregularities of his Life, since upon his Return from one of his Expeditions, he went to the Temple of *Delphos*, there to consecrate to *Apollo* a Part of his Hair, in imitation of *Bacchus* who had cut his into a round Figure, leaving none of it but from the Crown of his Head to his Ears. *Hector* imitated both of them afterwards; and as that Tonfure of *Bacchus* had been called *Bacchic*, and that of *Theseus*, *Theseid*, so that of *Hector* was termed *Hectorid*.

Not only did *Theseus* receive the Honours that were paid to Heroes, but he was also advanced to the Rank of the Gods; a Temple was built in his Honour, which became afterwards very famous, and whereof the Ruins are to be seen at this Day, or at least the Place where it stood. The Sacrifices were offered to him on the eighth Day of each Month, especially of *October*, which was the Day of his return from *Crete*. This Sacrifice was called *Ogdolion*, the Sacrifice of the eighth Day.

Pausanias speaks of the fine Paintings that were to be seen in that Temple, and which represented the Battle between the *Athenians* and the *Amazons*, that of the *Centaur*s and the *Lapithæ*, &c. The same Author makes also mention of the heroic Monument which the same *Theseus* had at *Athens*, near the Hill for Horses, and which he had in common with *Pirithous*, *Oedipus* and *Adrastus*.

Plutarch agrees to the Truth of *Theseus's* having Honours paid him, but at the same time he says it was not till several Ages after his Death that the *Athenians* honoured him as a God, on the Occasion which he relates. At the Battle of *Marathon*, says he, he was thought to appear in Armour, fighting against the Barbarians;

barians; and after the Wars with the *Medes*, in the Year of *Phedon's* Archonship, the *Athenians* having consulted the Oracle of *Apollo*, the Prophetess enjoined them to collect the Bones of *Theseus*, to bury them in the most honourable Place among themselves, and to keep them with a great deal of Care. But if it was difficult to find the Place where he was interred, it was still more so to transport his Bones, by reason of the savage Fierceness of the People who were in Possession of them, an intractable Race, who had no Commerce with their Neighbours. At length however, *Cimon* having made himself Master of their Island, was resolved at any rate to find out his Tomb. While search was making on all sides, he happily saw an Eagle pecking at a rising Ground, and trying to open it with its Pounces. Forthwith struck as with a divine Inspiration, he ordered to rake into that Place, and there was found the Coffin of a very large Man, with the Head of a Pike and a Sword. All these *Cimon* put into his Ship, and carried them to *Athens*. The *Athenians* overjoyed, received these Relicks of Arms with Processions and Sacrifices, as if it had been *Theseus* himself returned to Life, and buried them in the middle of the City, near the Place where their Exercises are at this Day performed. That Spot of Ground very soon became a Sanctuary for Slaves, and for all those who dreaded the Violence of their Prosecutors. As *Theseus* in his Life-time had been the Protector of the Unfortunate, and had always favourably received the Prayers of those who implored his Aid against Oppressors, the World consecrated him to the same Dignity after his Death.

C H A P. IX.

The History of Castor and Pollux.

AS *Castor* and *Pollux* were two of the principal *Argonauts*, who distinguished themselves in the Expedition to *Colchis*, no less by their Piety to the Gods, than by their Courage and Valour, I ought to give my Readers the History of their Life. There is some-

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thing

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thing singular in the Fable of their Birth; we are told that *Leda* (1) the Wife of *Tyndarus* King of *Sparta*, was beloved by *Jupiter*; that he having found her upon the Banks of the *Eurotas*, a River in *Laconia*, had *Venus* transformed into an Eagle, and he himself assumed the Figure of a Swan, who being pursued by the Eagle, flew for shelter into the Arms of *Leda* who was with Child, and at the End of nine Months she brought forth two Eggs, whereof the one produced *Pollux* and *Helen*, and the other *Castor* and *Clytemnestra*: The two first were reckoned the Children of *Jupiter*, and the other two claimed *Tyndarus* for their Father. Tho' this Tradition is the most general, *Apollodorus* however (2) relates the Story otherwise, and says *Jupiter* being in love with *Nemesis*, transformed himself into a Swan, and metamorphosed his Mistress into a Duck, adding it was she that gave *Leda* the Egg which she had hatched, and that consequently she was the real Mother of the Twin-Brothers. Some Authors, in order to explain this Fable, say it has no other Foundation but the Beauty of *Helen*, and especially the Length and Whiteness of her Neck, resembling that of a Swan (a). Others alledge that this Princess acted some Scene of Gallantry upon the Banks of the *Eurotas*, where perhaps there were a great many Swans, and that to save her Honour, it was given out that *Jupiter* himself had been enamour'd of her, and transformed himself into a Swan; and we may say whenever the Fable gives a Foundation to such Glosses, they are the true Key to it.

However, I reject not the Conjecture of those who will have it that *Leda* had introduced her Gallant into the highest Appartment of her Palace; which was usually of an oval Figure, and called among the *Lacedemonians* *ᾠδὴ*, which gave rise to the Fiction of the Egg (3). Be that as it will, *Castor* and *Pollux* signalized themselves by so many illustrious Actions, that they

(1) Euripid. Ovid. Epist. of *Helen* to *Paris*. (2) Book 3.

(a) See *Mezeriac* upon the Epistle of *Helen* to *Paris*.

(3) *Cesius Cael.* Poet. Astron.

they had a just Claim to be reputed Sons of *Jupiter*, which is the Import of *Dioscuri*, the Name given them, and which they bore ever afterwards. Some will have it that *Glaucus*, when he appear'd in the *Propontis* to the *Argonauts*, was the first who gave them this Appellation (1). It was in the Expedition to *Colchis* especially that these two Heroes distinguished themselves, and rendered themselves worthy of the Name they bore. In the Storm that was like to have over-set the Ship *Argo*, they made a Vow with *Orpheus*, to get themselves initiated into the Mysteries of *Samothrace*, and to repair to that Island to return Thanks to the Gods who were worship'd there, for their Preservation from the Dangers to which they and their Companions in the Expedition had been exposed. They even carried away in *Colchis* a Statue of *Mars*, named *Tberitas*, whether this was the Name given in that Country to the God of War, or that of his Muse; and they transported it into *Greece*, where it was preserved for several Ages (2).

Pollux slew the famous *Amychus* who challenged all the World at the Gauntlet-Fight; this Victory and that which he gained afterwards at the Olympic Games, which *Hercules* celebrated in *Elis*, made him be reckon'd the Heroe and Patron of Wrestlers, while his Brother *Castor* distinguished himself in the Race, and in the Art of breaking Horses: *Hunc equis, illum superare pugnis nobilem*, as *Horace* says (3) after *Homer* (a), who calls him a Breaker of Horses.

These two Heroes, after the Expedition to *Colchis*, signalized themselves by Sea, and cleared the *Archipelago* of the Pirates who infested it; which served not a little, after their Death, to make them pass for two Divinities friendly to Sailors; but the Adventure, whether true or fabulous, which befel them during the Voyage of the *Argonauts*, contributed more than any thing else to this Fable. We are told that during the

L 3

Storm

(1) Philostrat. in the Picture of *Glaucus*. (2) Pausan. in Lacon.

(3) Cerm. l. 1.

(a) Pliny, L. 2, cap. 23. and elsewhere.

Storm now mentioned, two Fires were seen to play around the Heads of the *Tyndaride*, and very soon after the Storm ceased. These Fires, which often appear by Sea in Time of a Storm, were afterwards reckoned the Fires of *Castor* and *Pollux*. When two of them were seen at a Time, it was a prognostic of fair Weather; when only one of them appeared, it was an infallible Sign of an approaching Storm, and then they invoked the Aid of those two Heroes (1). The same Notion still prevails as to the Presage of these Fires; and all the Effect that Religion has produced, is to change their Names, they being now called St. *Elme's* and St. *Nicholas's* Fires.

The Zeal which these two Princes had expressed for being initiated into the Mysteries that were celebrated in *Samoisbrace*, contributed not a little to heighten their Reputation. The Gods in honour of whom those Mysteries were instituted, were the *Cabiri*, whom I have spoke of in the first Volume, and there was nothing in those Ages of Darkness more sacred and revered than these Mysteries; People had a violent Desire to participate of them, because it was thought a Means to procure the Favour of those Gods, especially during Navigation, as *Diodorus Siculus* remarks.

The *Athenians* charmed with the Moderation of these two Princes (2), who after they had taken the City *Aphidnes*, to avenge the Wrong done to their Sister, had only punished those who had been concerned in the Rape, gave them the Name of *Anaëtes*, which imports *Kings*, and in honour of them, instituted a Festival under the same Name.

Moderation and Piety, especially when supported by no stronger Motives than those which Paganism supplied, can hardly stand out against violent Passions. *Lyncæus* and *Idas* being about to marry *Phæbe* and *Hil-laria*, the Daughters of *Leucippus*, invited to the Feast *Castor* and *Pollux*, the near Relations of the two young Virgins, their Father being *Tyndarus's* Brother; but they themselves falling in love with them, ravished them,
married

(1) *Loc. cit.* (2) *Plut. in Theseo.*

married them, and had two Children by them, whom *Pausanias* (1) names *Anascis* and *Menofinus*, who afterwards had Statues at *Corinth*, in the Temple built in Honour of their Fathers (a).

The two Spouses stung to the Quick with this outrageous Insult, having met with their Rivals some time after, fought with them, and *Castor* slew *Lynceus*; but *Idas* avenged his Death by killing the Murderer of his Brother. *Pollux* again avenged *Castor* and slew *Idas*, or as some Authors will have it, he was struck dead by *Jupiter* himself with a Thunder-bolt.

With respect to this Event, as well as others, there occurs some Variation among the Ancients; and the manner in which *Apollodorus* relates this Adventure, bears not such an odious Aspect towards the *Tyndarids*, tho' it makes them not quite inexcusable, since it associates them in an Act of Injustice. They were joined with *Idas* and *Lynceus* in carrying off some Flocks; but the latter having refused to make a Division of the Booty, *Castor* and *Pollux* resolved to take Satisfaction for this Injury, and having raised Troops, entered into *Messenia*, carried off the Cattle of *Idas* and *Lynceus*, and laid an Ambuscade for them; but the latter having descry'd *Castor* hiding himself near an Oak-tree, shewed him to *Idas*, who put him to Death.

In whatever Manner the Fact happened, 'tis certain, 1. That *Castor* and *Pollux* had no other Wives but their two Consins, nor other Children but those I have named: 2. That *Castor* was slain in the Scuffle now mentioned, as also *Idas* and *Lynceus*; and the Race of *Aphareus* being extinct by their Death, the Crown of the *Messenians* was transferred into *Nestor's* Family.

As *Pollux* was reputed immortal, being the Son of *Jupiter*, we are told he supplicated his Father to put him to Death, or to share his Immortality with his Brother. *Jupiter* heard his Prayer, so that when

L 4

Castor

(1) In *Corinth*.

(a) The two Wives whom we have named had likewise a Temple in *Laconia*, according to the same *Pausanias*; and the Priestesses who did the Service of the Temple, as also the Goddesses themselves, were called *Lamippides*.

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Castor recovered Life, *Pollux* lost it, and when *Pollux* returned into the World, *Castor* re-entered the Kingdom of the Dead. This, by the way, is that alternative Life and Death of which the Poets have said so much after *Homer* (1) and *Pindar*, and which *Virgil* has so well expressed (a); the Foundation of which Fiction is, that the two Princes I am speaking of being dead, and advanced to the Rank of Gods, they formed in the Heavens the Sign of the Twins; and because one of the two Stars of which it is composed sets when the other rises, hence the Fable now mentioned took its Birth.

The *Romans* perpetuated the Memory of this Fiction in a pretty singular Manner, by sending every Year on the Day of the Feast of the *Tyndaride* near their Temple, a Man with a Cap like theirs, mounted upon Horseback, and leading another Horse in his Hand on which no Body rode, intimating thereby that only one of the two Brothers appeared at a Time.

But this much is certain, that both of them had been buried near *Scias*, a Town in *Laconia*; and by a strange Incongruity, whereof Man is but too capable, their Temple was shewn near the very Place where their Tomb stood, as if it had been possible for one to partake of Divinity, when he could not triumph over Death. Their Deification, according to *Pausanias* and the other Ancients, was only put off for forty Years. At first they were considered as Heroes; but afterwards they were reckoned in the Number of the Gods of *Greece*, and got the Sirname of *Ambulii* and *Apbesii* (b). The Author now mentioned, speaks of the Temple they had at *Sparta*, and of another at *Athens*, wherein

divine

(1) *Odyss.* l. 11.

(a) *Si fratrem Pollux alterna morte redemit,
Itque reditque viam toties.* *Æneid.* l. 6.

(b) These two Epithets are only applicable to the great Gods of the *Pagans*, and they had been given to *Jupiter* and *Minerva*. The first signified *Prolongation*, and it was a prevailing Opinion that those Gods to whom it belonged prolonged Life. The second, which imports, *Starting*, *Emissio*, was peculiar to the *Tyndaride*, who were thought to preside over the Barriers, whence they who run the Races at the public Games set out. *Paus.* in *Lac.*

divine Honours were paid to them. The first of these two Cities was the Place of their Nativity, and they had done signal Service to the Second, by saving it from being pillaged. The same Author likewise makes mention of another Temple which was at *Corinth*, and of Statues raised to them in the little Island of *Sphamos*, whereof, according to the Poet *Alcman*, they were Natives.

The *Romans*, who afterwards adopted their Worship, held them always in high Veneration, and erected a Temple to them on occasion of the Aid they believed themselves to have received from them near the Lake *Rhegillum*. As they also adopted the Greek Fables, their Authors make mention of several Apparitions of these two Divinities. *Cicero* (1) makes one of his Speakers say, they were believed to have foretold to *Vanitus*, the Victory he gained over the *Persians*; but as he was not very credulous, he gives no great Credit to that Revelation, since he says *Homer*, who lived not long after these Heroes (2), informs us, that they were interred at *Lacedemon* or near by; whence he justly concludes, that they were not capable to come and predict future Events. *Justin* seriously relates, how in a Battle between the *Locrians* and the *Crotonians*, two young Men appeared mounted on white Steeds, who were taken for *Castor* and *Pollux*. But the Adventure of two *Messenians*, which *Pausanias* speaks of (3), shews us what we are to think of those Sorts of Apparitions. These two young Men handsome and well made, were called *Panormus* and *Goni-*
us, and belonged to a Place named *Andania*. They chose the Time when the *Lacedemonians* were celebrating the Feast of the *Dioscuri*, clad themselves in white Tunics with purple Cassocks, covered their Heads with Caps like the *Locrians*, and mounted the finest Horses they could find. In this Equipage, and armed with Lances, they entered *Laconia*, and repaired to the Place where the *Lacedemonians* were assembled for Sacrifice. Forthwith they were taken for the Gods themselves,
whose

(1) *De Nat. Deor.* l. 2. (2) *Pausan.* in *Lacon.* (3) *Ibid.*

whose Feast they were celebrating, and while the *Lacedemonians* were prostrating themselves before them, the two *Messenians* rush'd in upon them, cut off several of them, and then made their Escape. This sacrilegious Action, for the *Messenians* also worship'd the *Dioscuri*, was reckoned afterwards the Cause of the Calamities that overwhelmed *Messenia*; and they were not wanting to attribute them to the Hatred of the incensed *Tyndaride*. Accordingly, when *Epaminondas* had a Mind to repair *Messene*, one of the principal Objects of his Care was to appease the Wrath of those Gods by Sacrifices. He had seen in a Dream (1), says *Pausanias*, a venerable old Man, who, in order to excite him to repair that City, assured him that their Wrath, which hitherto had led them to distress the *Messenians*, was at length ceased, and they now satisfied.

A Passage in *Homer*, wherein that Poet says, *Helen* asked of the *Grecian* Deputies who were come to *Troy*, News of *Castor* and *Pollux* her Brothers, supposes that she knew not then of their being dead, and at the same Time that they had died since she came to that City. Now according to the same Poet, she had been then twenty Years in that City; it was therefore during that Interval her Brothers had died. It was not certainly after the Siege was begun, otherwise they had undoubtedly joined their Brothers-in-Law *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*, in revenging the Injury done to their Sister *Helen*. Consequently it must have been during the Preparations for the War that they died; and this lets us know the time of their Death precisely enough, tho' we cannot determine the Year wherein it happened.

But to proceed, these two Heroes were usually represented on Medals and other Monuments, under the Figure of two young Men, with a Bonnet, on the Top of which is a Star, as may be seen in one of these Medals of the Family *Sulpitia*, quoted by *Oyzel* (2); but more commonly by Statues, where they were either
on

(1) *Pausan.* in *Messen.* (2) *Fab.* 41.

IX. *explained by* HISTORY. 155

seback, or have their Horses by them (1); in
anner every time they are said to have appeared
1, it is always on Horseback.

y who take the Art of Riding to be later than
ge of *Troy*, where indeed they fought in Cha-
ndeavour to evade the Arguments brought from
representations; but these are the very Argu-
which demonstrate that this Art is more ancient
ey take it to be. I have no Design to enter in-

Question which is foreign to my Subject, and
is treated thoroughly in *The Memoirs of the
y of the Belles Lettres* (2); but were it no more
Example of the *Centaurs*, who were in reality
men of *Thessaly*, and who lived before the Siege
, and what *Homer* says in speaking of the Horses
fus, which *Diomedes* and *Ulysses* carried off, and
way upon them without any Saddle, putting
forward with their Bows for want of Whips,
ne would be sufficient to prove riding to have
n use in *Greece* before that *Æra*. Besides, is it
hought that the Shepherds when they found their

straying, would not be directed by Nature her-
o mount their Horses to gather them again to-
? Is not this Way of breaking those Animals
asier and more natural, than to harness and yoke
for drawing Chariots? An Usage which was on-
stituted for Convenience and Show. I said in
; for as to the eastern Countries, riding was
there from the earliest Periods of Time. *Moses*,
Song he composed after the Passage thro' the
ea, very plainly distinguishes (3) the *Egyptian*
men who were drowned, from those who rode
ariots; and as he says in one Place, *Currus Pha-*
- - - *projecit in mare*; so he adds in another,
& *ascensorem ejus*, &c.

h were the famous *DioscURI* and the Gods *Anaetes*
: *Greeks*, who, as we have seen, have nothing in
common

Paufan. in *Lacon. Attic. Corinth.* &c. (2) *Tom VII.* &c.
Exod. c. 15. v. 1. & 4.

common with those of the Orientals whom we have fully discoursed of in the first Volume.

C H A P. X.

The History of Orpheus.

SOME Authors relying upon a Passage in *Cicero* (1), alledge that *Orpheus* never had an Existence, and that all the Accounts of this celebrated Man delivered in Antiquity are but mere Fictions, grounded upon the various Etymologies that may be given of his Name. True it is that Author, or rather *Cotta*, one of his Speakers, asserts that this was *Aristotle's* Sentiment: *Orpheum Poetam docet Aristoteles nunquam fuisse*; but besides its being very difficult to discover from *Cicero's* Books on the Nature of the Gods, what his real Opinions are, 'tis usual for him to put such Words in the Mouths of his Speakers, rather to deliver the several Opinions that were in vogue in his Time, than to adopt any one of them himself; besides, would his bare Authority, granting him even to be of *Cotta's* Opinion, counter-balance that of all Antiquity, which admitted not only one but several *Orpheus's*; and that upon the single Foundation of a Passage in *Aristotle*, which is even not extant now in his Works, and who might be singular in his Opinion of that great Man?

In Fact, *Aristophanes*, in his Comedy of the Frogs (2), *Euripides* (3), *Horace*, *Virgil*, *Onomacritus*, *Apollonius Rhodius*, *Ovid*, *Valerius Flaccus*, and several others among the Poets; *Plato*, *Isocrates*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Plutarch*, *Apollodorus*, *Pausanias*, *Hyginus*, &c. among the Philosophers, Historians, and Mythologists, make no doubt but that there was an *Orpheus*. In a Word, we would be obliged to quote all the Ancients, who have spoke of him as a Man who had a real Existence, were we to trace his traditional History. Besides, his Name occurs in all the Lists of those who have spoke of the

(1) De Nat. Deor. l. 3. (2) Ver. 1064. (3) In his *Hippolitus*.

the *Argonauts*; and we have as little Reason to doubt of his Existence, as of any of the other Warriors who are named in those Catalogues.

'Tis true, many Fables have been uttered in relation to him; but these Fables are easy to be understood and explained: And what famous Man is there in that Age of Heroes, who has not had the same Fate? After so many Authors, whose formal Testimonies I might have quoted, were it not for fear of being tedious, what shall we think of some Etymologies, which those who understand the Oriental Languages lay so great Stress upon? Because the *Phœnician* Word *Aripb* signifies *Knowing*, shall we say with *Vossius* (1), that this Word gave Rise to the fictitious Name and Existence of some Man of profound Knowledge, whom they called *Orpheus*? Or with *Turnerus*, that the *Hebrew* Word *Rapba*, which imports *to cure*, made the pretended *Orpheus* pass for a great Physician? This is what will not be very easy to be believed; and I would, at least, rather say with *M. le Clerc* (2), without denying the Existence of that famous Man, that by confounding two *Greek* Words, he came to be taken for an expert Singer, instead of a Conjuror who professed Necromancy, as shall be said afterwards; and 'tis true in Fact, that the Hymns which are ascribed to him, resemble Pieces of Conjunction more than real Songs.

Having thus established the Existence of *Orpheus*, two Points remain to be discussed. First, I am to deliver the History of his Life, according to the most generally received Traditions; and in the second Place, explain the Fables that are interwove into it. But I would give the Reader previous Notice, that he will find great Lights into both from the learned Notes of *M. Burette* upon *Plutarch's* Treatise of Musick (3), and in the Dissertation of *Christian Escherbach*, intitled, *Epigenes de Poesi & Philosophia Orphica*.

Orpheus is one of the most famous, as it is one of the most ancient Names in the Poetry and Musick of the
Greeks.

(1) De Nat. Poet. c. 3. sect. 3. (2) Bibl. univers. Tom. 15. p. 99.

(3) Mem. d' l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres, T. x. p. 262, &c.

Greeks. He was in flourishing Reputation at the Time of the *Argonautic Expedition*, that is, before the *Trojan War*. Some reckon to the Number of Five of them, of whom they tell us some Particularities; and 'tis highly probable that it fared with *Orpheus* as with *Hercules*, that many Actions were ascribed to one, which possibly belonged to several.

Orpheus was the Son of *Ægeus*, King of *Thrace* (1), and of the Muse *Calliope*, the Father of *Museus*, and Disciple of *Linus*; it was only to add a greater Lustre to his Birth and Talents, particularly as to Musick and Poetry, that he was said afterwards to be the Son of *Apollo*. As he applied himself a great deal to Matters of Religion, and undertook several Voyages to improve himself in that Science, he very soon united in his own Person the Dignity of Pontif with that of King; and this is what makes *Horace* give him the Title (2) of *Minister* and *Interpreter of the Gods*. As to Musick, he especially applied himself to the Harp, and brought that Instrument to Perfection; accordingly, those who came after him made it their Business to imitate him, whereas he had no Model to copy after (3), since before him we hear only of *Airs* set to the Flute. It was to demonstrate how much he excelled in playing on that Instrument, that he was said to have received it from *Apollo* or *Mercury*, and to have even added two Strings to the seven which it had before. To him is also attributed the Invention of *Hexameter Verse*. The Connection between Poetry and the most sublime Sciences of that Time made *Orpheus* not only a Philosopher, but also a great Divine. He had some Sentiments, however, that were peculiar to himself. He abstained, for Instance, from eating of *Flesh*, and had an Abhorrence to *Eggs*, considered as Food; from a Persuasion that the Egg was elder than the Chick, and the Principle of all Beings. A Sentiment relating to the *Cosmogony* he had borrowed from the *Egyptians*, and which I have sufficiently explained in the first Volume.

As

(1) Diodor. l. 4. (2) Art. Poet. (3) Plat. in Orpheo.

As to Theology, he had his first Instructions therein from his Father *Ægeus*, who taught him the Mysteries of *Bacchus*, as they were then practised in *Thrace*. He became afterwards the Disciple of the *Dactyli* of Mount *Ida* in *Crete*, and from his Intercourse with them he got new Insight into the Ceremonies of Religion. But nothing contributed more to improve him in that kind, than his Expedition to *Egypt*. There it was, that having got himself initiated into the Mysteries of *Isis* or *Ceres*, and of *Osiris* or *Bacchus*, he acquired Insight into the Rites of Initiation, Expiation, Funerals, and other Points of religious Worship, far superior to what he had gained till then. *Diodorus Siculus*, who speaks of that Voyage, and says he learned by it the Fable of the infernal Regions, the Orgies, and other Mysteries, that were adopted by the *Greeks*, adds, that it was inserted in the Annals of the *Egyptian* Priests; where mention was also made of other *Greeks* who had travelled into the same Country, such as *Musæus*, *Melampus*, &c. He says, there were Marks to be shewn that all of them had passed some Time in that Country, such as their Picture, or some Place that bore their Name; which is an uncontestable Proof of the Expedition I have now mentioned.

Orpheus, at his Return to *Greece*, communicated to that Country the Knowledge he had acquired in *Egypt*, accommodated himself to the Notions of the People of the Country, and he made himself regarded among them, by persuading them that he understood the Secret of expiating Crimes, of purifying Criminals, of curing the Sick, and of appeasing the incensed Gods. Upon the Model of the Funeral Rites of the *Egyptians*, he contrived a Hell, the Idea whereof diffused itself over all *Greece*. He instituted the Mysteries and Worship of *Hecate Chthonia*, or the *Terrestrial*, among the *Eginete*, and that of *Ceres* at *Sparta*, and made so many other Alterations in the System of the Religion of the *Greeks*, that he may be reckoned one of their greatest Divines, and one of their first Reformers. Nor was it only in Matters of Religion he made those Alterations,

terations, he made also considerable ones in the Manners of that Age, as shall be said in explaining one of the Fables that is wrought into his History. In fine, he distinguished himself so much both by his Talents, and by the Blessings he procured to Society, that he became one of the most illustrious Men of his Time.

His Wife being dead, he went into a Place in *Thesprotia* called *Aornos*, where an ancient Oracle delivered Responses by calling up the Dead. There he was again bless'd with a Sight of his dear *Eurydice*, and believing he had actually recovered her, flatter'd himself that she was to follow him; but looking back, and seeing her no more, he was so afflicted, that he killed himself through Despair.

Some Authors will have it that he was Thunder-struck, as a Punishment for having revealed the most secret Mysteries to the Profane. According to another Tradition, the Women in *Thrace*, vexed that their Husbands abandoned them to go after him, laid Ambuscades for him; and in spight of Fear which withheld them for some time, they at length put him to Death. *Plutarch* (1) asserts, that the *Thracians* even in his Time, stigmatized their Wives to revenge that Death. Others again make him to have fallen by Women, tho' not in *Thrace* but *Macedonia*, near the City of *Dion* (2), where his Sepulchre, was to be seen, which consisted in a Marble Urn set upon a Pillar. We are told however, that this Monument was at *Libetbra*, the Place of *Orpheus's* Birth, whence it was transferred to *Dion* by the *Macedonians*, after the Ruin of *Libetbra* buried under Water in a sudden Inundation, occasioned by a dreadful Storm. *Pausanius* who gives a full Account of this Event (3), says the *Libetbrians* having sent to consult the Oracle of *Bacchus* which was in *Thrace*, to know what was to be the Fate of their City, the Answer was, that so soon as the Sun shone upon *Orpheus's* Bones, *Sus* should destroy their City. As that Word signifies a *Hog* or *Boar*, the *Libetbrians*

continued

(1) De Ser. Nup. Vind.

(2) See Paus. in Beot. c. 39.

(3) Ibid. p. 770.

continued undisturbed, not being able to imagine that such an Animal should be the Cause of so great a Calamity to them. One Day about the Hour of Noon, a Shepherd having fallen asleep near *Orpheus's* Tomb, fell a singing in his Sleep; but in so soft and moving a Strain, that those who heard him run up to the Sound, and were followed by such Crowds of People, that having pressed hard upon one another, they overthrew the Pillar on which was the Urn that contained *Orpheus's* Bones, which broke in falling. The Night after, a great Storm occasioned an overflowing of the Sea, a Torrent which rolled down from Mount *Olympus*, so that the City *Libethra* was buried under the Water, and the Oracle, whose Sense had not been understood, was fulfilled.

To conclude, *Plato* in his Banquet, makes one of his Speakers pleasantly say, that *Orpheus* was punished by the Gods for having feigned Grief at *Eurydice's* Death which he did not feel, and that instead of having killed himself in good earnest, as *Alcestes*, and thereby deserving to revisit the Light of Day, the same Gods had permitted him to enjoy but for a Moment the Sight of his Wife, or rather of her Phantom, and then to be torn in Pieces, even by Women.

As for the Poems of *Orpheus*, which we have already mentioned, they were very short and not numerous, according to *Pausanias* (1). The *Lycomides*, an *Athenian* Family, had them all by Heart, and sung them at the Celebration of their Mysteries. In respect of Elegance, continues the same Author, these Hymns are inferior to those of *Homer*; but Religion having adopted the former, gives them the Preference to the other in Point of Honour. Further, we have none of the Works of that ancient Poet now extant, those which go under his Name, such as the *Argonautics*, the Poem upon the Stones, and divers Fragments which *Henry Stephen* has collected into a Book intitled, *Poetis Philologica*, are either the Works of *Onomacritus*, who was contemporary with *Pisistratus*, or of some other un-

known Author. But I advise those who would be thoroughly acquainted with the Works attributed to *Orpheus*, to consult the learned *Fabricius* (1),

2. To come now to the Explanation of the Fables that are interwove into this Life, I shall begin with that which we have in *Pausanias* (2), who seems to reason justly upon this Subject. "Among the Fables," says he, which the *Greeks* set forth as Truths, we may reckon this; that *Orpheus* was the Son of *Calliope*; I mean the Muse *Calliope*, and not *Pierus's* Daughter; that by the Sweetness of his Song he drew the Beasts after him; that he even descended alive into the infernal Regions, and that having charmed *Pluto*, and the Divinities of those subterraneous Mansions, he brought back his Wife from thence. These are so many Fictions, thro' which I can find out that *Orpheus* was a great Poet, much superior to all those who had been before him, who gained high esteem by teaching Men the Ceremonies of Religion, and by persuading them that he found out the Art of expiating Crimes, of purifying those who had committed them, of curing the Sick, and of appeasing the Wrath of the Gods." &c.

It was, to mention it by the way, the Journey to *Theſprotia* that gave rise to *Orpheus's* pretended Journey to Hell. He is even said to have described this Journey under that Idea in his Poem of the *Argonauts*, which is not the one we have now extant under that Title. The Poets who followed him have given loose Reins to their Imagination on this Head. *Virgil*, among others (3), says that *Orpheus* having descended into *Pluto's* Kingdom, charmed the Ghosts so much, that forgetting their Tortures, they danced to the Sound of his Harp; that *Ixion* ceased from turning his Wheel, and that the cruel Vulture left *Tityus* some Intervals of Ease; that *Pluto* himself charmed, was unable to with-hold from him his Wife *Eurydice*; but that having granted her to him only on Condition that

he

he would not look upon her till she had got out of Hell, he lost thro' his own Curiosity a Blessing which had cost him so dear.

Further, this whole Fiction is founded upon this, that Magic was highly in vogue in those Times, especially in *Egypt*. One of the most common Ceremonies in that detestable Art, was the calling up the Souls of the Dead (1); and so far was it from being reckoned Criminal, that it was practised even by the Ministers of sacred Things, in Temples destined for that Purpose.

But if this Explanation of the Fable of *Eurydice* does not satisfy some Readers, we may say with *Tzetzes* (2), that *Orpheus* cured his Wife of the Bite of a Serpent; but that she having died soon after, perhaps by her own Fault; hence it was said that he had brought her up from the infernal Regions, but that she had fallen back thither again. *Orpheus*, if we may believe the same Author, had learned from the *Egyptians*, among several other Secrets, that of charming Serpents, and of curing their Stings: The Inhabitants of *Colibis* an *Egyptian* Colony which *Sesostris* had left there, had brought thither this Secret: Accordingly we have seen that *Medea* with some Herbs charmed the Dragon which kept the *Golden Fleece*. As that Princess, according to the *Argonautic* Authors, passed into *Italy* with *Jason*, *Servius* says (3), she communicated that Secret to the *Marsi*, who inhabited on the Banks of the *Fucine Lake*. In fine, several other People knew the same Art; but a longer Digression would be foreign to my present Purpose.

The Fable importing that *Orpheus* drew after him Animals moved with the melodious Accents of his Voice and Lyre, and that he tamed the fiercest Tygers and Lions, is to be understood as a lively and ingenious Allegory, denoting the Perfection to which he had carried Poetry and Music; or if we understand it with *Horace*, it informs us that *Orpheus* civilized the

M 2

savage

(1) See the Article of Evocations, V. I. B. 4. (2) *Chil.* 1. of *sacred History*. (3) *In Lib.* 7. *Æn.* 5. v. 750.

savage Manners of the *Greeks* of his Time, who used to destroy one another like wild Beasts; having reclaimed them from a savage and rustic Life, to the Sweets of Union and Society; and having at last induced them to substitute in place of Acorns, or at least of wild Fruits, a more convenient and wholesome Food (a).

This is the Sense in which I take the Words of that Poet, *Cædibus & fædo victu*. The *Abbé Fraguier* in a Dissertation upon the *Orphic* Life, understands these Expressions in a stricter Sense, alledging that the *Thracians* were real Cannibals who ate up one another, and that *Orpheus* not only abolished this Custom among that People; but to draw them off from it still more, entirely prohibited them from the Use of Meat, and whatever had Life; and that 'tis in this Sense we are to understand the *Orphic* Life. That manner of living, to mention it by the way, was afterwards embraced by several noted Personages; and it would seem that *Theseus* in *Euripides* (1) upbraids *Hippolitus* with it, as if that young Man had been initiated into the Mysteries of *Orpheus*, and practised the *Orphic* Life in all its Rigour; for to this Effect he speaks to him: *Here then is the Man who has Intercourse with the Gods, as a Person of eminent Virtue; here is that Example of Temperance, and blameless Conduct. Think not to impose upon me any longer by this vain Shew and Parade; deceive me now if you can by your Affectation, in eating nothing that has Life, submit to your Orpheus's Rules, counterfeit yourself inspired, &c.* But may we not suppose that *Euripides*, being to represent *Hippolitus* as a young Man of austere Virtue, gives him the Character of those of his Time, who after *Pythagoras's* Example, were initiated into the *Orphic* Life, whereof the Poet now named has given us a more distinct Idea than any other of the Ancients, since we see from the Passage now quoted, that

(a) *Sylvestres homines sacæ interpresque Deorum,
Cædibus & victu fædo deterruit Orpheus:
Dicitur ob hoc lenire tigres rapidosque leones.*

Art. Poet.

(1) *Hippolit. v. 948.*

that it consisted chiefly in three Things, in Intercourse with the Gods, in the Study of Religion, and in Abstinence from all animal Food.

The Fiction which we have in *Pausanias* of those *Tiracians*, who alledged the Nightingales that had their Nests near *Orpheus's* Tomb sung with more Force and Melody than any other, is a Consequence of that which I have been now explaining, and proves at the same Time that all, not excepting the Populace, were persuaded that this celebrated Person, had carried Music and Singing as far as they could go.

What *Ovid* says, that while the Head of *Orpheus*, which the *Bacchanals*, who tore him in Pieces, had thrown into the *Hebrus*, was hurried along by the Streams, his Mouth uttered a kind of mournful and plaintive Notes, proves only that a Genius of that Poet's Turn, when it has once got hold of the Marvellous, knows not when to drop it, and so commonly carries it to the Height of Extravagance; but what he adds in the same Place, that when that Head stopp'd near the Island of *Lesbos*, a Serpent which was going to bite it, was transformed into a Stone, sets forth to us the Adventure of some malignant envious Person, who, for having offered to defame *Orpheus*, was reckoned by all a Man of no Taste, without any just Sentiment, and incapable of being moved by Beauty, in a Word, Insensible like a Stone or Rock. In fine, this Head was highly revered by the *Lesbians*, who consulted it as an Oracle.

The Fable which imports that the *Helicon* dived under Ground, that it might not furnish Water to the *Bacchanals*, who after having torn *Orpheus* in Pieces, came thither to purify themselves, is founded upon the Nature of that River, which after running for the Space of seventy-five Furlongs, sinks under Ground and rises up again in another Place, under the Name of *Baphyra*; and serves at the same Time to prove, that the Crime of those Enthusiasts was detested by all Nature.

Lastly, That other Fable which intimates that *Venus* incensed against *Calliope*, *Orpheus's* Mother, for having

adjudged to *Proserpine* the Possession of *Adonis*, had made the *Thracian* Women fall so desperately in love with him, that each pulling him to her Side, they had tore him in Pieces (1), is one of those Epifodes which Wits think of use to embellish Narrations, which might well bear to be without them.

Again, no Body is ignorant of the Story which *Lucian* tells of *Orpheus's* Lyre, which had been deposited in the Temple of *Apollo*. One *Neantbus*, says he, the Son of *Pythacus* the Tyrant, bought it of the Priests, imagining that if he did but touch the Strings, he would draw after him the Trees and Rocks; but his Project succeeded so ill that the Dogs of the Suburbs, where he was playing, tore him in Pieces.

The Time when *Orpheus* lived is well enough known from that of the *Argonauts* his Contemporaries, and from the Date which I have settled of the Expedition to *Colchis*, in which he joined. To conclude, it is probable that *Orpheus* quitted *Thrace*, and came and settled in *Greece*; at least, he was represented, in a fine Picture of *Polygnotus*, as we are told by *Pausanias* (2), cloathed all over after the *Grecian* Manner, without any thing of the *Thracian* Garb appearing about him.

CH A P. XI.

The History of Calais and Zethes.

AS *Calais* and *Zethes* distinguished themselves in the Expedition of the *Argonauts*, I thought their History required a separate Article. They were the Sons of *Boreas* King of *Thrace*. That Prince had carried off *Orizbia* the Daughter of *Erechtheus*, the sixth King of *Athens*; and as he was frequently taken for the Wind that bears his Name, hence his Sons had Wings given them, and were said to be the Sons of *Boreas* the Wind; which makes *M. le Clerc* (3) imagine, that by these two Princes whose Names import, *That breathes strong, and that breathes soft*, nothing else was meant

(1) *Hygin. Cat. Astron. Poet.* c. 7. (2) *In Phoc.* (3) *Biblio. Univers.* t. 6.

meant but the northerly Winds, that cleared *Bitbynia* of the Locusts, as has been said in the History of the *Argonauts*. *Plato* too takes the Rape of *Oritbia* to be a mere Fiction, which has no other Foundation, but that the Wind had made her fall into a River upon whose Banks she was playing with her Companions; but the Opinion of both these Authors is confuted by all Antiquity, which considers the Marriage of *Boreas* with *Oritbia* as an historical Fact. *Pausanias* (1) ay, this Marriage was even very advantageous to *Erechtheus*; his Son-in-law *Boreas* having equipped a Fleet to defend him against his Enemies who infested the Coasts of *Attica*. In like manner, his two Sons were reckoned two real Princes, who embarked with the *Argonauts*, and were of great Use to their Brother-in-law *Phineus*. It is likewise well known, that after their return from *Colchis*, and during the Celebration of *Pelias's* funeral Games, *Hercules* quarrelled with them, and put them both to Death, for having joined *Typhis*, the Pilote of the Ship *Argo*, who was of Opinion that *Hercules* should be left in *Troas*, when he deserted the Ship to go in quest of *Hylas*. The azure Locks given them by the Poets, denoted the Air whence the Winds blow, and at the same Time carried an Allusion to the Name of their Father: Unless we choose rather to adopt the Conjecture of *Tzetzes*, who will have it, that the long and fine Hair of these two Princes, that waved upon their Shoulders in the Wind, producing to the Sight the same Effect as a Pair of Wings, had given rise to the Fable. Further, we may suppose that the Fiction of the Wings given to the Sons of *Boreas*, was owing to the loose Dress which *Luxury* had introduced among the *Thessalians*, called by the Ancients in Derision, *Wings*, which by its Wideness and Lightness, and especially its variegated Colours, deserved so well that Name. Perhaps the Heroes we are now speaking of, affected to wear that sort of Dress, contrary to the Fashion of their Coun-

(1) In *Stric.*

try; and this is probably what made them be said to have Wings.

But I begin to be sensible that I have dwelt too long upon the History of the *Argonauts*; 'tis therefore time to proceed to the other Events of the fabulous Age.



B O O K IV.

The History of the Hunting of Calydon, and of the two Wars of Thebes.

C H A P. I.

The History of the Hunting of Calydon, and of the War to which it gave Occasion.

IF ever the Rule which I laid down at the Beginning of this *Mythology*, namely, that we ought to take the Fables as much as possible from the ancient Poets, where they are more simple, and more detached from Fiction; if ever that Rule, I say, ought to take Place, it is chiefly in the History I am going to relate: As to which, after setting forth what *Homer* says of it, I shall subjoin the Circumstances superadded to it by the Poets who came after him. After the following Manner does *Phenix* discourse to *Achilles* of this Event, of which he himself might have been an Eye-witness in his youthful Days;

*Where Calydon on rocky Mountains stands,
Once fought th' Ætolian and Curetian Bands;
To guard it, those, to conquer, these advance;
And mutual Deaths were dealt with mutual Chance.*

The

*The silver Cynthia bade Contention rise,
In Vengeance of neglected Sacrifice;
On Oeneus' Fields she sent a monstrous Boar,
That level'd Harvests, and whole Forests tore:
This Beast, (when many a Chief his Tusks had slain)
Great Meleager stretch'd along the Plain.
Then, for his Spoils, a new Debate arose,
The neighbour Nations thence commencing Foes.
Strong as they were, the bold Curetes fail'd,
While Meleager's thund'ring Arm prevail'd:
Till Rage at length inflam'd his lofty Breast,
(For Rage invades the wisest and the best.)*

*Curs'd by Althæa, to his Wrath he yields,
And in his Wife's Embrace forgets the Fields.
" (She from Marpessa sprung, divinely fair,
" And matchless Idas, more than Man in War;
" The God of Day ador'd the Mother's Charms;
" Against the God the Father bent his Arms:
" Th' afflicted Pair, their Sorrows to proclaim,
" From Cleopatra chang'd his Daughter's Name,
" And call'd Alcyone; a Name to show
" The Father's Grief, the mourning Mother's Woe."
To her the Chief retir'd from stern Debate,
But found no Peace from fierce Althæa's Hate:
Althæa's Hate th' unhappy Warrior drew,
Whose luckless Hand his royal Uncle slew;
She beat the Ground, and call'd the Pow'rs beneath
On her own Son to wreak her Brother's Death:
Hell heard her Curses from the Realms profound,
And the red Fiends that walk the nightly Round.
In vain Ætolia her Deliv'rer waits,
War shakes her Walls, and thunders at her Gates.
She sent Ambassadors, a chosen Band,
Priests of the Gods, and Elders of the Land;
Besought the Chief to save the sinking State:
Their Prayers were urgent, and their Proffers great:
(Full fifty Acres of the richest Ground,
Half Pasture green, and half with Vineyards crown'd.)
His suppliant Father, aged Oeneus, came;
His Sisters follow'd; ev'n the vengeful Dame,*

Althæa

Althæa sues ; His Friends before him fall :
He stands relentless, and rejects 'em all.
Mean while the Victor's Shouts ascend the Skies ;
The Walls are scal'd ; the rolling Flames arise ;
At length his Wife (a Form divine) appears,
With piercing Cries, and supplicating Tears ;
She paints the Horrors of a conquer'd Town,
The Heroes slain, the Palaces o'ertrown,
The Matrons ravish'd, the whole Race enslav'd :
The Warriour beard, he vanquish'd, and he sav'd,
Th' Ætolians, long disdain'd, now took their Turn,
And left the Chief their broken Faith to mourn.

POPE'S Iliad, B. IX. v. 653, &c.

Thus *Homer* relates this Story in a Manner very probable, having nothing in it supernatural but the Intervention of *Diana*, which may easily be detached from it, having been added only to denote the enormous Size of the Boar, the other Circumstances being abundantly credible, there being of those Animals sometimes to be met with in Forests monstrously large, that make vast Havock and Desolation, so that it requires a great many People to give chase to them. *Homer* accordingly tells us, there was a little Army convened for that of *Calydon* ; but as this Poet names not the Chiefs who commanded it, I shall give them from *Apollodorus* (1) ; *Meleager* the Son of *Oeneus*, *Dryas* the Son of *Mars*, both of them *Calydonians* ; *Idas* and *Lyncus* the Sons of *Apbareus*, *Messenians* ; *Castor* and *Pollux* the Sons of *Jupiter* and *Leda*, *Lacedemonians* ; *Theseus* the Son of *Egeus*, an *Athenian* ; *Admetus* the Son of *Pheres*, from a City in *Thessaly* named *Pbera* ; *Anceus* and *Cepheus* the Sons of *Lycurgus*, from *Arcadia* ; *Jason* the Son of *Eson*, from *Iolcos* ; *Iphicles* the Son of *Amphitryo*, a *Theban* ; *Pirithous* the Son of *Ixion*, a *Larissæan* ; *Peleus* the Son of *Eacus*, from *Phthia* ; *Telamon* the Son of the same *Eacus*, from *Salamis* ; *Eurytion* the Son of *Astor*, from *Phthia* ; *Atalanta* the Daughter of *Scheneus*, from *Arcadia* : *Amphiaræus* the

(1) Lib. 1.

Chap. I. explained by HISTORY. 171

the Son of *Oileus*, from *Argos*; with them were also the Sons of *Thestius*.

Pausanias (1) speaking of a Picture of the *Tegeates*, where this Chace was represented, adds to those whom *Apollodorus* names, *Iolaus* the faithful Companion of *Hercules's* Labours; the Brothers of *Althea*, *Protheus*, and *Cometes*, and *Hippotheus* the Son of *Cercion*.

Ovid again, who has described this Story at full length, adds to all these *Toxeus* and *Plexippus* the Sons of *Thestius*, whom *Apollodorus* had not named; the brave *Leucippus*, *Adrastus*, *Ceneus* who was transformed from a Girl to a Boy; *Phenix* the Son of *Amyntor*; *Menetius* the Father of *Patroclus*; *Phileus*, *Ecbion*, *Lelex*, *Panopeus*, *Hyleus*, the stern *Hippasus*; *Nestor*, who was then in the Flower of his Youth; the four Sons of *Hippocoon*; *Laertes* the Father of *Ulysses*; and the crafty *Ampicides* (a).

The Poets who came after *Homer*, embellished this Story with several Circumstances that were unknown to him, and among others, with that of the fatal Brand, which was the Cause of *Meleager's* Death, in the Manner as *Ovid* relates it. After that *Meleager*, says he, had put to Death his two Uncles by the Mother's Side, *Plexippus* and *Toxeus*, who disputed with *Atalanta* the Bear's Skin which had been given her; *Althea* who was gone to thank the Gods for the Victory her Son had gained, met the two Corpses of her Brothers which they were carrying to *Calydon*. At this sad Spectacle she lays aside her ceremonial Habit, puts on Mourning, and makes the whole City resound with her Shrieks and Lamentations. When she learned afterwards, that her Son was the Murderer of his two Uncles, she refrained from Tears and entered into a secret Resolution to revenge their Death. When she was delivered of *Meleager*, the *Parce* had put into the Fire a Brand to which that Prince's Destiny was annexed,

(1) In *Arcad*.

(a) *Apollonius*, *Antoninus Liberalis*, *Diodorus*, &c. likewise describe after the same Poet, this War of the *Curetes* against the *Golyanians*.

annexed (a), and beginning then to spin his Days, foretold that they would last as long as that Piece of Wood. The same Poet adds, that they having gone forth after that Oracle, *Althea* pluck'd out of the Fire the fatal Brand, and laid it up, that by keeping it carefully she might preserve the Life of her Son; but the Grief with which she was seized for the Death of her two Brothers, made her forget her Love to *Meleager*, so that she threw the Brand into the Fire, which as it burnt away, made that Prince languish and pine away in agonizing Pain, and expire so soon as the Brand was consumed.

This Fiction, as we see, was unknown to *Homer*, who says indeed, that *Althea* devoted her Son to the Furies; but he is so far from making this Imprecation to have been the Cause of his Death, that it was pronounced upon him some Time before his Wife appeased his Wrath, and induced him to relieve the Town.

If we may believe *Pausanias*, *Phrynichus*, the Son of *Polyphradmon*, a Tragic Poet, the Disciple of *Thespis*, the Inventor of Tragedy among the *Greeks*, was the first who vented this Fable in his Play, intitled *Pleuron*. *Meleager*, said he in that Tragedy, these are *Pausanias's* Words, could not avoid Death. His cruel Mother set Fire to the fatal Brand, and in the same Fire her Son felt himself consume. Here then, according to *Pausanias*, is the first Time that this Circumstance of *Meleager's* History appeared in a Play exhibited to the Public; but it is very probable that it was known before that Time, since that Poet only hints at it as a public Tradition. And indeed, had it been of *Phrynichus's* own Invention, he would have insisted longer upon it: Accordingly, this Reflexion has not escaped *Pausanias*, who, after quoting the Passage in the Tragedy of that Poet, subjoins these Words: "It must, however, be acknowledged, *Phrynichus* insists not on this Event as every Poet is wont to do upon a Notion of his own Invention, which he wants to make
" credible;

(a) *Ætodorus*, l. 1. says it was on the seventh Day after *Meleager's* Birth, that the *Parce* gave *Althea* that fatal Brand.

“credible; but he barely mentions the Fact, as a
“Thing well known thro’ all Greece.”

Althea, the Mother of *Meleager*, was of *Pleurone*, a City adjoining to *Calydon*, and very powerful, wherein dwelt the *Curetes*. Her two Brothers, *Plexippus* and *Toxeus* had their Residence there, and joined with the Troops of the *Curetes*, their Subjects, to make War upon their Nephew.

As to the Transformation of *Meleager’s* Sisters into Birds, called from their Name *Meleagridæ*, a Fiction unknown to the same Poet, we may suppose it had no other Foundation, but that some of these Virgins were so deeply affected with their Brothers mournful Fate, as to die for Grief; as also did *Althea*, who being wounded with Remorse, hanged herself in Despair. *Oeneus*, after the Death of his Wife, married *Peribæa*, the Daughter of *Hipponous*, who had sent her to him to be chastised for having suffered herself to be debauch’d by a Priest of *Mars*; tho’ she gave out that it was the God himself had fallen in Love with her.

Oeneus, of the Family of the *Eolids*, was the Son of *Partbaon* and *Euryte*. He had by *Althea* several Children, *Tbireus*, *Clemens*, *Meleager*, *Toxeus*, whom he put to Death; and two Daughters, *Gorgæ* who married *Andremon*, who succeeded his Father-in-law, and *Dejanira* who was married to *Hercules*. By *Peribæa* his second Wife, he had *Tydeus*, the Father of *Diomedes*, so celebrated in the *Iliad*. He was dethroned in the Manner that *Pausanias* relates, but found Means to get himself restored to the Crown; at length, being over-burdened with old Age, he left the Administration of his Dominions to his Son-in-law *Andremon*, and set out with his Grand-son *Diomedes*; but he perished in the Way by an Ambuscade laid for him by his Nephews. His Body was transported to *Argolis*, and interred in a small City, which from that Time bore the Name of *Oeneæ*.

We must not here omit what some Authors alledge, that under the Idea of the Boar was concealed one of those famous Robbers, who had made himself formidable

dable in that Time, and against whom they were obliged to draw together a kind of Army. If we may believe *Strabo*, this Robber was the Son of the famous *Phaya*, whom *Theseus* cut off. We are farther told, that *Meleager* slew him with his own Hand; and gave his Spoils to his Mistress *Atalanta*, and the rest. But this is a vain Refinement; this History turns upon a real Boar, whose Skin was even a long Time preserved in Greece. *Augustus*, to punish the *Arcadians* for having espoused *Anthony's* Party, carried off from *Tegea* the Statue of *Minerva Alea*, with the Tusks of the *Calydonian* Boar brought thither by *Atalanta*, an *Arcadian* by Birth, to whom the Head of that Animal had been given; and at *Rome* was to be seen one of its Teeth, for the other was broken off, which, according to *Pausanias*, was half an Ell in Length. The same Author adds that the Skin of this Animal was still preserved in his Time in the Temple of the same *Minerva Alea*; but that it was very much damnified by Time, and strip'd of its Bristles.

Cleopatra, the Wife of *Meleager*, was the Daughter of *Idas*, the Brother of *Lynceus* and *Marpesa*; by her he had a Daughter named *Polydora*, who married *Protesilaus*, the first who sprung from the *Grecian* Ships upon the Coast of *Troy*, tho' the Oracle had foretold the Death of him who should first land upon that Shore. *Polydora* died for Grief for her Husband's Death, as also *Cleopatra*, who was unable to survive *Meleager*.

Atalanta acts too fine a Part in this History, not to have her Story related in particular. This Princess, as has been said, was a Native of *Arcadia*, and the Daughter of *Schæneus*. Some Authors confound her with another *Atalanta* the Daughter of *Menalies*, who was so swift at running, that it was impossible even for the most vigorous Men to overtake her. Others again distinguish them; what *Ovid* says of her is to this Effect. *Atalanta*, says he, had resolv'd to preserve her Virginity; but her exquisite Beauty gained her Admirers from all Parts. To be free from the Importunity of so many Lovers, she propos'd a Running Match

Match with them, on Condition that they should run without Arms, while she should be armed with a Javelin, with which she should pierce those to Death whom she could overtake, but that which ever of them arrived at the Goal before her should be her Husband. Several accepted the Terms; but as she run faster than they, many of her Suitors had already lost their Lives, when *Hippomenes*, the Son of *Macareus*, having received from *Venus*, whom he invoked, three golden Apples which she had gathered in the Garden of the *Hesperides*, or according to others, in the Island of *Cyprus*, made Use of a Stratagem whereby he gained the Victory. As the Lover, according to Agreement, was to run first, he artfully drop'd the three Apples at some Distance from one another, and as *Atalanta* was amusing herself in gathering them, he arrived first at the Mark, and married this Princess; but having afterwards with her profaned a Temple of *Cybele*, or a Grove which was consecrated to her, he was transformed into a Lion, and *Atalanta* into a Lionness.

As the Ancients are seldom or never agreed about those Histories so remote from their Time, *Apollodorus* has followed a Tradition concerning *Atalanta*, quite different from that now given. Her Father, says he, being desirous to have Male Children, and not Daughters, so soon as his Wife was delivered of her, exposed her in a desert Place, that she might perish. A She-boar that passed by, having found the Child, gave her Suck, and continued to nurse her, till some Hunters finding her, took pity upon her, and having carried her with them, took Care of her Education. As she had been brought up by People who delighted in hunting, she contracted a great Relish for that Exercise, and so soon as she was able to endure the Fatigues of it, she gave herself up to it entirely, running through the Fields; declining every Match, she turned her whole Thoughts on proper Precautions, how to lead a Life of Celibacy; however, the Life she led exposed her to many Hazards, and she was one Day vigorously pursued by two Centaurs, that is, by two Horsemen, who offered

Violence

Violence to her, but she had the Valour and Success to kill them with her Arrows. She was at the famous hunting of the *Calydonian* Boar, and at the Games and Combats instituted in Honour of *Pelias*, where she wrestled with *Peleus*, and gained the Prize; after this she found out her Parents; and her Father urging her to marry, she consented to marry him who should outstrip her at running, as has been said. *Hesiod*, and some others, pursues *Apollodorus*, said she was not the Daughter of *Jasus*, but of *Schæneus*, *Æuripides* gives her *Melanus* for her Father, and asserts that she married *Hippomenes*, and not *Menalion*, as some of the Ancients were of Opinion, alledging even that she had by him a Son named *Paribenopeus*, who made War upon the *Thebans*. Be that as it will, *Apollodorus* seems to contradict himself, since in the First Book he says, *Atalanta*, who assisted at the Hunting of *Calydon*, was the Daughter of *Schæneus*; and in the Third, that she who is now in question, was the Daughter of *Jasus* and *Clymene*; which is often the Case with Compilers, who do not accurately revise their Works.

Ælian has a long Dissertation upon *Atalanta*, upon her Parents, the Manner in which she was exposed, and upon some of the principal Actions of her Life; but as that Discourse seems to be a kind of Declamation, which teaches us nothing new, I presume that what I have now quoted from *Apollodorus* will make it needless for me to transcribe the Passage.

We have, in the Supplement to *Montfaucon's Antiquities*, a fine Roman Groupe, wherein is to be seen *Atalanta* and *Hippomenes*, each of them holding an Apple in their Hand, and two Monuments representing, the one *Meleager* with the Boar's Head, the other the same Heroe with his Mother *Alibæa* putting into the Fire the fatal Brand, whereon depended the Preservation of his Life.

Tho' we cannot precisely fix the Date of the Event now related, yet we may determine it exactly enough with regard to its Distance from the Siege of *Troy*; and as that City was taken, as has been proved in the
Æra

Æra of the Argonauts, about Thirty Four or Thirty Five Years before their Expedition, I think I may fix the Date of the Hunting and War of *Calydon* to the Twenty Eighth or Thirtieth Year before the *Trojan War*; and indeed there is all Probability that this Hunting did not fall out till after *Hercules's* Death, which happened Four or Five Years after the Conquest of the *Golden Fleece*, at which that Heroe, *Oeneus's* Son-in-Law, must needs have been present with *Iolaus* and *Theseus*, who never left him in his Expeditions. But as *Hercules* after his Marriage with *Dejanira*, returned with her into his own Dominions; and as it was during that Expedition, that *Nessus* gave *Dejanira* the fatal Tunic to which *Hercules* owed his Death, having not long before fallen in love with *Iole*, there is the highest Probability that he returned no more to *Calydon*; and no Ancient has actually said that he was at that Hunting.

The same Reason proves it to be posterior to the Conquest of the *Argonauts*, in which Time *Hercules* was alive. *Ovid*, in the long Description he gives of this celebrated Hunting-match, insinuates in more Places than one, that it did not happen till after the Expedition to *Colebis*; and *Pausanias* decides the Matter effectually, by saying that *Anceus* after having distinguished himself among the *Argonauts*, was slain by the *Calydonian Boar*, as he was pursuing it with too much Ardour.

Nor ought it in my Opinion to be set at a great Distance from that Conquest, since the same Heroes were at both.

Tho' the Story I am going to relate has no Connection with what has been now said, yet since it happened in the same City *Calydon*, of which I shall have no Occasion to say any thing further, I shall give it a Place here. *Corefus*, the Priest of *Bacchus*, having fallen in love with *Callirboë*, a Princess of the Blood Royal, tried all Means to gain her Affection, but the more ardent his Addresses were to her, the more did she shew her dislike of him. *Corefus* find-

ing that all his Endeavours served only to exasperate his Mistress, had recourse to the Divinity whom he served. *Bacchus* heard the Prayers of his Priest, and visited the *Calydonians* with a Distemper which deprived them of their Senses; it was a kind of Drunkenness which led them to fight together, without knowing one another. In a little Time *Calydon* was like to have become a Desert, when a Deputation was sent to consult the Oracle of *Dodona*, to learn the Means of being delivered from so fatal a Calamity. The Oracle answered that there was no other way to appease incensed *Bacchus* but by sacrificing *Callirhoë*, or some one who was willing to be devoted to death in her stead. That Princess was already near the Altar, dressed like a Victim that was to save the People of *Calydon*, when *Ceresus* ready to plunge the Poniard into her Breast, performed a generous Action that surprized all the World, and sacrificed himself to the public Safety. *Callirhoë*, struck with the Generosity of her Lover, killed herself near the Fountain of *Calydon*, which from that time bore her Name.

CH A P. II.

The History of the two Wars of Thebes, of Oedipus, of the Sphinx, &c.

EIGHT or ten Years after the Conquest of the *Argonauts*, an Event happened in *Greece*, which the Poets have very much celebrated. *Eschiles*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides* have made it the Subject of several Tragedies, and *Statius*, of an Epic Poem (a). I mean the two Wars of *Thebes*, and the Story of the hostile Brothers, *Etheocles* and *Polynices*; Wars which prove according to the Ancients, that the Wrath of the Gods against

(a) The Tragedy of *Eschiles* upon this Subject, has for its Title *The Seven before Thebes*; that is, the seven Chiefs who follow'd *Adrastus*. *Sophocles* has made three Tragedies upon the same Subject, *Oedipus King*, *Oedipus Colonos*, and *Antigone*; and *Euripides* his *Suppliants*, where he brings in the Circumstance of the Ladies supplicating the *Athenians* to allow Burial to their Husbands slain at the Siege of *Thebes*.

against *Cadmus*, unhappy in his Family, continued to pursue him even in his last Descendants; but in order fully to explain the Adventures thereof, we must trace the Story to its Source. After the Plague had consumed the whole House of *Amphion*, and *Zethus* deploring the Death of his Son, slain by his Mother, had sunk under his Affliction, the *Thebans* re-instated in the Throne (1) *Laius* who had been expelled from it, and this Restoration was followed with so many Misfortunes, that ancient History furnishes us with few Examples parallel to the Calamities that afflicted the City of *Thebes*.

Diodorus Siculus (2), *Apollodorus* (3), *Statius* (4), *Eusebius*, and several others, tell us that *Laius* having married *Jocasta* the Daughter of *Creon* King of *Thebes*, learned from the Oracle, that he should be put to Death by the Child that was to be born of that Marriage, which obliged him to live with the Queen in great Reserve; but on a Day of Rioting and Debauch, having gone into the Queen, she proved with Child. When she was delivered, *Laius* whole Thoughts turned much upon the Prediction, and gave him great Disturbance, ordered a trusty Servant to go and expose the Child in a desert Place. He instead of abandoning the Infant to the Mercy of the wild Beasts, hung him by the Feet to a Tree, whence he got the Name of *Oedipus* (5). *Phorbas*, the Overseer of the Flocks of *Polybus* King of *Corinth*, having found him in that distressed Condition, carried him to his Master, who bestowed great Care upon his Education, and adopted him. This young Prince now grown up, being informed of his Adventure, resolved to go and consult the Oracle of *Apollis*, to discover who were his Parents; and the Answer was, that he must beware of returning into his own Country, because it was fated that he should there kill his Father, and marry his Mother; which obliged him to undergo voluntary Exile from *Corinth*, which he took to be the Place intended

N 2

(1) Pausan. in Beot. c. 5. (2) L. 4. (3) L. 3. (4) Theb. 1.3. (5) The Word imports one who has swollen Feet.

tended by the Oracle: But as he was passing thro' *Phocis*, he met with *Laius* in a narrow Defile of Mount *Cytheron*, who having ordered him aloud to leave him the Passage clear, they came to Blows, and *Oedipus* slew his Father, and thus fulfilled a Part of the Prediction of the Oracle.

At that Time the *Sphinx* annoyed the *Thebans*, not so much by the puzzling Riddles she set forth to them, as by the Havock and Desolation she made in the Country. The Fable says, she was a Monster sprung from *Echidna* and *Typhon*, which *Juno*, incensed against the *Thebans*, sent against them. She had, 'tis said, the Head and Hands of a Woman, the Body of a Dog, the Tail of a Dragon, the Claws of a Lion, and Wings like a Fowl (a). *Sphinx* usually repaired to Mount *Phiceon*, whence she fell upon Passengers, and proposed to them difficult Riddles, tearing in Pieces those who were not able to explain them. Her usual Riddle was that of an Animal which has four Feet in the Morning, two at Noon, and three in the Evening; and it was fated that she should lose her Life, so soon as any one resolved her Riddle. Already had several Persons been the Victims of this pitiless Monster, and *Thebes* was plunged in deep Distress, when *Cræon*, who had re-ascended the Throne after *Laius's* Death, being concerned to deliver his Kingdom from her Ravages, gave public Notice, that whoever explained the Riddle should have *Jocasta* in Marriage, and be made Heir to his Crown. *Oedipus* presented himself, and was so happy as to explain it, understanding that Animal to be Man, who in his Infancy, which is the Morning of Life, creeps about on Hands and Feet; at Noon, that is in the Strength of his Age, he walks on two Legs; and in the Evening, that is in old Age, makes use of a Crutch as a third Leg. *Sphinx* was so enraged with Spight at his Success, that she dashed out her Brains against a Rock.

'Tis

(a) *Sphinx volucris pennis, pedibus fera, fronte puella.*

Auson.

'Tis easy to see that some Piece of History is comprehended under these dark Fictions.

'Tis commonly reckoned with *Pausanias* (1), that a natural Daughter of *Laius*, named *Spbix*, gave rise to the Fable. That Princess, not content with the Treatment she met with from her Father, had set herself on the Head of a Troop of *Banditti*, who committed a thousand Abuses in the Confines of *Thebes*, whence she came to be reckoned a Monster. First she had given her for her Parents, *Ecbidna*, or the *Chimera*, and *Typhon*; these were always the Father and Mother of whatever was monstrous. The Lions Claws which she was said to have, denoted her Cruelty; her Body shaped like a Dog, the Abuses whereof a young Woman so abandoned is capable of; her Wings, the Agility and Address with which she escaped the Pursuits of the *Thebans*; and her Riddles, the Snares she laid for Passengers to decoy them into the Rocks and Thickets of Mount *Pbiceon* (a), where she resided, and from which it was impossible for them to extricate themselves, for want of knowing the Outlets, with which she was perfectly well acquainted.

The learned *Bochart* (2) derives the Name of *Spbix*, from a *Phenician* Word *Pbicea*, in Greek *Φίξ*, which signifies, *Subtle, Crafty, Quick-sighted*; and the Reason he says of giving her this Name was, because she was Cunning and Crafty, puzzling by her intricate Riddles, the most penetrating Minds; an Explanation which amounts to the same with mine, and has also a very probable Etymology in its support (b). *M. le Clerc* derives the Name from *Spbicba*, which signifies either *Perplexed*, or *Man-slayer*; which suits very well with the Riddles she set forth, or with the Man-slaughter she committed. The *Phenicians* who wrote this Piece of ancient History, and who had built the Town of *Thebes*, were wont to propose Riddles, with Prizes to those

N 3

(1) In Beot.

(a) Mount *Pbiceon* is in *Beotia* near *Antbedon*.

(2) Chan. l. 1. c. 16. page 40.

(b) *Quia mulier fuit acutissima que per Gryphos & Enigmata horisumorum sui & vi ingenia exercebat.* Boch. loc. cit.

those who resolved them, and sometimes punishing those who could not hit upon an Explanation. The History of *Samson*, and that of *Solomon*, with *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, furnish us with Examples of that ancient Custom, which according to *Herodotus* (1), and *Plutarch* (2), was also observed in *Egypt* and other Countries. Thus, without receding from the Fable of the *Greeks*, we may understand the Riddles of the *Sphinx* literally; or interpret them in an allegorical Manner, of the Woods and Thickets of the Mountain where this Princess had her Retreat (a).

Be that as it will, *Oedipus* with some *Theban* Troops which *Creon* had given him, having taken an Opportunity to surprize this Woman and her Companions, cut her off in the Place of her Retreat, which is meant by his having found out a Key to her Riddle. *Jocasta* being the Prize of the Person who succeeded in this Enterprize, *Oedipus* married her, and had two Sons by her, *Eteocles* and *Polynices*, and two Daughters *Antigone* and *Ismena*. But having afterwards discovered the Secret of his Birth, and consequently his Parricide and Incest, he plucked out his Eyes, and having abdicated the Crown, retired to *Athens*, and *Jocasta* killed herself thro' Anguish and Vexation. *Sophocles*, who has composed a Tragedy upon this Retreat of *Oedipus*, says that unfortunate Prince, guided by his Daughter *Antigone*, stop'd near a Town of *Attica* named *Colonte*, in a Wood consecrated to the *Eumenides*, and that some *Athenians* who found him there, affrighted at the Sight of a Man who had planted himself in a Place, where no profane Person was permitted to set his Foot, and still more so, when they came to know he was a Man pursued by divine Wrath, in one Word *Oedipus*,

WERE

(1) L. 2. (2) Banquet of the seven Wisemen.

(a) The *Sphinx* of the *Greeks* did not resemble those that are in *Egypt*, especially that which still subsists, and is of a colossal Figure. The *Sphinx* of the last was represented with the Head covered, and without Wings. That of *Thebes* has the Head bare, and the Hair in order, and is painted with Wings. The Inhabitants of *Cbes* took this Monster for a Symbol, and it is to be seen upon their Medals.

were going to have expelled him, when *Antigone* interceded for her Father and herself, upon which they led him to *Atbens*, where *Theseus* gave him a favourable Reception, and there he spent the Remainder of his Days.

Such is the History of this unfortunate Prince, according to the tragic Poets, especially *Sophocles*, who building upon the Tradition I have delivered, has given his Tragedies that moving Pathetic, and infused into them more of Terror and Compassion, with the other Emotions of the Theatre, than if he had exactly followed the History. For in Fact, 'tis literally true that *Oedipus* married his Mother; but according to *Homer*, and *Pausanias* who cites ancient Authors, it appears that he had not the four Children whom *Sophocles* gives him. *Ulysses* in the Narrative he delivers at the Court of *Alcinous*, of his Descent into the infernal Regions (1), after having said he had seen there the fair *Epicaeste*, for that is the Name which *Homer* gives to *Oedipus*'s Mother, whom *Sophocles* and others call *Jocasta*; from thence he takes occasion to recount briefly the Misfortunes of that Princess, who by a cruel Fatality saw herself the Mother of her own Husband, and the Wife of her own Son; but, continues he, the Gods very soon defaced the Remembrance of that Crime:

*But soon the Gods cut short her guilty Days,
Not suffering the foul Incest to go on.*

Epicaeste, sunk under her Anguish of Soul, went up to an upper Apartment in the Palace, there tied the fatal Noose which was the Instrument of her Death, and hurried herself into the infernal Regions. For not to enter here into the Examination of the meaning of the Word *ἀνακυστα*, which has given some Trouble to the Critics, and has been the Subject of two Dissertations, the one by the *Abbé Gedoyn*, the other by *M. Boivin the Younger*, Copies whereof may be seen in the *Mémoires of the Academy of Belles Lettres* (2); 'tis certain

N 4

from

(1) *Odyss.* l. 8. (2) *Tom.* v. p. 145.

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from the Authority of *Homer* and *Pausanias*, and the two Academics who explain the Word in question, agree to it, that the incestuous *Oedipus* and *Jocasta* had no Issue, and that this Princess who was ignorant of the Matter at first, hanged herself in the Bitterness of her Soul.

And indeed how could the Gods be said to have abolished the Memory of that Crime, or how would they have made it known to the World, for the Word *Anapusta* is capable of both these Significations, if *Jocasta* had continued to live with *Oedipus* her Son and Husband, so long as to have four Children by him? *Homer* is not explicite on this Head; but *Pausanias*, (1) who had examined and traced the Opinion of the Greek Poet, who lived nearer that Age, and consequently deserves more Credit than the tragic Poets, positively asserts, that after the Death of *Jocasta*, *Oedipus* married *Euriganea*, the Daughter of *Periphas*, and had by her the four Children now named. He cites to this Purpose the Poem intitled *Oedipedia*, or the Adventures of *Oedipus*; and adds for Confirmation of this Opinion, that in the fine Picture which *Onatas* had drawn for the *Plateans*, *Euriganea* appears overwhelmed with Grief, because the Painter had caught the Moment of Time, when that distressed Mother was expecting the Issue of the Combat in which her two Sons were going to engage. *Pausanias* is not the only one of the Ancients who was of this Opinion, and long before him, *Apollodorus* had said that *Oedipus* had these four Children by the same *Euriganea*.

Such is the true History of *Oedipus*, but we cannot therefore blame the tragic Poets for having given it a new Dress; had they not done so, we should have been deprived of the finest Passages in their Works. Thus, had *Sophocles* been scrupulously attached to the Truth of History, we should have been deprived of a Tragedy, which in the Opinion of the Ancients, is the finest and most moving that ever appeared upon the Stage, and at the same Time of those fine Lines so much praised

(1) In Attic. c. 28.

praised by *Longinus* *, and thus excellently translated by *Boileau*.

*Hymen, funeste Hymen, tu m'as donné la vie ;
Mais dans ces mêmes flancs ou je fus enfermé,
Tu fais rentrer le sang dont tu m'avois formé :
Et par là tu produis & de fils, & des peres,
Des freres, des maris, des femmes, & des meres ;
Et tout ce que du sort la maligne fureur,
Fit jamais voir au jour & de bonte & d'horreur.*

O *Hymen* ! *Hymen* accursed ! But for thee *Oedipus* had never been ! A Wretch that lives to propagate, from those *Loins* whence he himself had sprung, a motley Race of Fathers, Brothers, Husbonds, Sons, Mothers, Daughters, and whatever foul unnatural Productions have appeared in the World !

Nor, if the History had been exactly kept to, should we have had the Tragedy of the same Poet, which has for its Title *Oedipus Colonos* ; since, according to the most ancient Tradition, that Prince having wedded *Euriganea*, reigned at *Thebes* the rest of his Days, and went not to *Athens*, which makes *Pausanias* say, when speaking in his *Attics* of a Place named *The Goat-Hill*, it was there that *Oedipus* came to deplore his Misfortunes : This, he remarks, is what they say who will not rely upon *Homer* ; whence we may conclude that according to *Homer*'s Sentiment, that Prince did not leave *Thebes*, but reigned there with *Euriganea* after *Jocasta*'s Death, and that there he died and was buried. 'Tis true his Tomb was shewn at *Athens*, within the Bounds of the *Areopagus* ; but as *Pausanias* very judiciously remarks (1), his Bones must have been transported thither afterwards from *Thebes*. For, says he,
what

* - - * - - ὦ γάμοι, γάμοι,
ἔτευσάδ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ οὐτευσάμεν, παλιν
ἄνωγε ταῦτόν σπέρμα, ἐκπεδείξατε
Πατέρας, ἀδελφούς, παῖδας, ἀνὴρ ἐμὸν λόγον
Νύμφας, Γυναικάς, μήτερας τί, χ' ὅπῃσιν
ἄλλοις ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἔργα γίνονται.

(1) In *Attic*.

what Sophocles has imagined about Oedipus's Death, appears to me to deserve but little Credit, when compared with what we read in Homer, who makes Menistheus to have gone to Thebes, to dispute the Prize in the funeral Games, that were celebrated at that Prince's Tomb. Now in these Matters, 'tis unquestionable that the Authority of Homer, who lived nearer the Age when this Story happened, and was perfectly acquainted with the Antiquities of Greece, ought to outweigh that of all others, especially of the tragic Poets, who had far greater Concern to excite the proper Emotions of Passion, than to adjust their Narrations to the most authentic Traditions.

After the Death, or if you will, the Retreat of Oedipus, his two Sons *Eteocles* and *Polynices* agreed to reign by turns. *Diodorus Siculus* adds (1), that these two young Princes, when grown up, confined their Father in his Palace (a), after which making themselves Masters of the Kingdom, they agreed together to reign each a Year by turns: A Contract which was the Source of their Hatred, and of the War which, according to *Pausanias* (2), was one of the most considerable that ever had been among the Greeks, during the heroic Age: " For that of the *Eleusinians*, says that Author, " against the other People of *Attica*, even that of " the *Thebans* against the *Minyans*, was almost as soon " ended as begun. The Armies had not far to go " before they came up with one another, the Quarrel " was left to the Decision of a Battle, and to Hostilities

(1) L. 4.

(a) *Æuripides* has followed this Tradition in his *Phœnician Women*, since he says that *Oedipus* was still at *Thebes* confined within his Palace, and that it was not till after the Death of the two hostile Brothers, that *Creon* who had resigned the Crown to *Eteocles*, reascended the Throne, and forced *Oedipus* to quit *Thebes*, whence he repaired to the Town of *Colonus* in *Attica*. The same Poet supposes also in the same Play, that *Jocasta*, whom the other Ancients make to have hanged herself upon the Knowledge of her Incest, did not kill herself till she heard of the Death of her Sons. So true it is that the tragic Poets especially, vary a great deal as to these Pieces of History, which they adapted to the Theatre.

In *Æotic*.

"lities very soon succeeded either Peace or a
"Truce.

"But the Army of the *Argives* came from the Ex-
"tremity of the *Peloponnesus* into the Heart of *Beotia*,
"and *Adrastus* drew his auxiliary Troops from *Arca-*
"dia and *Messenia*, while the *Thebans* were necessitated
"to draw theirs from *Phocis* and *Minyas*, whence the
"*Pblegyans* came to their Assistance."

The two Brothers being therefore agreed to reign
after one another, *Etbeocles* who was the eldest ascended
the Throne first; but his Year being expired, he would
not give Place to his Brother. *Polynices* (1) in Wrath
retired to *Argos* to King *Adrastus*'s Court (a). At that
time *Tydeus* the Son of *Oeneus*, having slain at *Calydon*,
Alcaibous and *Lycopus* his Uncles, fled also for refuge
from *Ætolia* to *Argos*. *Adrastus* gave them both a
kind Reception, and in Obedience to an Oracle, he
gave them his Daughters in Marriage: To *Polynices*
he gave *Argia*, and to *Tydeus*, *Deipyle*. These two
Youths had acquired a vast Reputation; and having
been in high Favour with the King, we are told that
Adrastus, as a Mark of his Esteem for them, promised
to restore them each to his own Country, and to re-esta-
blish them in all their Privileges.

With this View he sent *Tydeus* upon an Embassy to
Etbeocles to treat with him about his Brother's Return.
We are told, that *Tydeus* having fallen into an Ambus-
cade of fifty Men, which *Etbeocles*, apprized of the
End of his Embassy, had laid for him in the Way,
slew them all and returned to *Argos*. *Adrastus* no
sooner heard of this Piece of Treachery, than he pre-
pared himself for a military Expedition, and drew
over to his side *Capaneus*, *Hippomedon*, and *Partheno-*
pæus. In the mean Time *Adrastus*, *Polynices*, and *Ty-*
deus having shared the Command of the Army with
the other Princes now named, marched against *Thebes*,
followed

(1) *Ætiod.* l. 4.

(a) *Pausanias* says, *Polynices* quitted *Thebes* even in his Father's
Life-time, for fear of incurring the Malediction with which his Fa-
ther had threatened him and his Brother, and that he returned
thither till he was informed by *Etbeocles* that *Oedipus* was dead.

followed by numerous Troops, and by several other Captains, while *Polynices* on his side endeavoured to persuade the Soothsayer *Amphiaraus* to join with him; but whether he foresaw by his Art the Misfortune that was to befall him, or for some other Reason, he refused to engage in that Quarrel, while *Eriphyle*, his Wife and *Adrastus*'s Sister, bribed by a Necklace of great Price given her by that Prince, wrought so effectually as to prevail upon him to go (a).

The seven principal Leaders in this Expedition were therefore *Adrastus*, *Polynices* and *Tydeus* his two Sons-in-law; *Amphiaraus*, *Capaneus*, *Hippomedon* and *Parthenopeus*, who shared among them the Command of the Troops that had been levied in their Dominions.

While they were in the Way, there befel them an Adventure which gave rise to the Institution of the *Nemean Games*; the Occasion whereof was this. The *Argonauts*, as I have said elsewhere, going to the Conquest of the *Golden Fleece*, were obliged to put in at *Lemnos*; and *Jason* before he went to Sea again, left there *Hyppisphile* pregnant of a Son, whom she brought forth some time after. Hardly was that Princess well delivered, when the *Lemnian Ladies* heard by report, that King *Tboas* was still alive, and reigning in the Island of *Cbios*, where *Hyppisphile* had him conveyed to be in safety, by which she became so odious to those Women, that dreading their Fury, she fled to the Sea-coast, and was there taken and carried off by Pirates.

Lycurgus, to whom they sold her, made her Nurse to his Son *Archemorus*. As that Prince's Dominions lay in the Way by which *Adrastus*'s Army passed, the *Greeks* found in a Wood that illustrious Nurse, with the young Prince whom she was suckling. They were extremely pinched with Thirst, and almost all the Springs being dried up by the Heat of the Season, they prayed her to give them some Relief; she did so, and led them to a Fountain which was not far from thence, & Zeal to serve them was so great, that she left the

young

See below the History of that celebrated Soothsayer.

young *Archemorus* upon the Grass, that she might be able to walk the faster. She saw the *Greeks* drink, and gave them a brief Account of her History. After she was done with it, and had received the Thanks of the Leaders of the Army, she returned to the Place where she had left the young Prince; but a Serpent had stung him to death, and he was just at the Point of expiring; she even heard his last Groans as she was coming up. The *Greeks* surprized and afflicted with this fatal Adventure, slew the Serpent, gave the Child pompous funeral Obsequies, and according to the Usage of those Times, instituted Games in his Honour. It was even resolved that they should assemble every three Years, or every five Years upon the same Occasion. These Games were called *Nemean*, from the Name of *Lycurgus's* Kingdom, or rather from the Fountain near which this Adventure happened. The Prize of the Conquerors was a Crown of Parsley.

After having discharged these funeral Rites, the Army continued its March, and arrived before *Thebes*, but this first Expedition was unfortunate to the *Argives*. The two hostile Brothers slew one another in a single Combat. *Capaneus* having mounted the Rampart, was overthrown, and died in the Fall, or according to others, was struck dead with Thunder while he was blaspheming the Gods (1); the Earth having opened swallowed up *Amphiaraus*, and all the rest perished in this Expedition, except *Adrastus*. A great Number of Soldiers left their Lives there; *Adrastus* was forced to return to *Argos* without giving them Burial, the *Thebans* not having allowed them to carry away their Bodies. In the mean Time, as no body durst bury them, because *Creon* who had ascended the Throne after *Etbeodes's* Death, and during *Laodamas's* Minority, had made an Edict against their being buried; the *Atbenians*, who were distinguished from other People by their Justice, discharged this Duty to all of them, and *Theseus*, to whom *Adrastus* had applied for Assistance, forced the King of *Thebes* to consent to it; an Event

whic^t

(1) See the History of these Heroes below.

which is the Subject of a fine Tragedy in *Euripides*. Thus ended the Expedition of the seven Leaders before *Thebes*.

To give Light to this History, wherein I have followed the Authority of *Diodorus Siculus* and *Pausanias*, I shall add, that the first of these Authors makes no mention of a Battle that was fought upon the Banks of the River *Ismenus*, where the *Thebans* gave Ground upon the first Onset, and retired into their City, where they were immediately besieged; but as they knew better to defend a City, than to fight in the open Field, they made a Sally so opportunely upon the Enemy (1), that they pushed them into their Lines, cut them in pieces, and gained over them so compleat a Victory, that *Adrastus* was the only one who escaped them, as has been said, his Horse *Arion* having saved him. But this Victory cost them dear, and they lost so many Men, that it came afterwards to be a Proverb; for it was usual to call an Advantage gained over an Enemy with the Loss of much Blood, a *Theban Victory*.

Ten Years after this unfortunate Expedition, the Sons of these Captains undertook to avenge the Death of their Fathers; and it is this second War that is known by the Name of the War of the *Epigoni*, that is, of the Descendants or Sons of the former. These young Princes, marching under the Ensigns of *Thersander*, or, according to others, of *Alcmaeon* the Son of *Amphiaraus*, came once more to attack the *Thebans*; wherein it was not the *Argives* alone, the *Messenians* and *Arcadians*, as in the former Expedition, that took Arms, the *Corinthians* and *Megareans* would needs also join in it. As for the *Thebans*, they had engaged all their Neighbours in their Quarrel, and were powerfully assisted by them. The two Armies having very soon met, began the Attack upon the Banks of the *Glossas*. The Fight was very obstinate on either Side; but at last the *Thebans* having lost the Day, some of them fled with *Laodamas* their General, the rest threw themselves into *Thebes*, where they were very soon taken by Storm.

This

(1) *Pausan.* loc. cit.

This whole War, says Pausanias, was wrote in Verse, and Callinus, who quotes some of those Verses, makes no Difficulty to ascribe them to Homer, wherein he has been followed by several Authors of great Weight. For my Part, I own, that, next to the Iliad and Odyssey of Homer, I have not seen a finer Poem. It is remarkable that as in the first War all the Leaders of the *Argives* died, except *Adrastus*, in the Second no Person of Distinction fell on their Side, but *Egialeus* his Son. Such were the two first *Theban Wars*, which cost *Greece* so much Blood.

We must not forget to observe that in the First, *Tiresias* had foretold the *Thebans*, that if *Menetius*, the Son of *Creon*, would sacrifice his Life for the Salvation of his Country, all the Enemy's Generals would be slain. I shall not say whether this was done with an Intention to get rid of that young Prince, or if it proceeded from a barbarous Principle of Superstition, as if the Gods had been pleased with those who sacrificed themselves to the Preservation of their Country; however it was, the Prediction gained Credit, and *Menetius* killed himself: And as this animated the Courage and Hope of the *Thebans*, they made such a vigorous Defence, as to render all the Efforts of their Enemies ineffectual, and cut them almost all in pieces.

It was also in the first of these Wars, that the two hostile Brothers, to save the Blood of their Subjects, fought a Duel, and slew one another. Their Dissension had run so high in their Life-time, and their Hatred was so irreconcilable, that it is said to have lasted even after their Death; and it was given out, that the very Flames of the Funeral Piles, on which their Bodies were burnt, were observed to part asunder; an Effect which, tho' natural, was attributed to the mutual Enmity between those two Princes. The same Thing was also said to have happened in the Sacrifices that were offered to them: For however barbarous and cruel these two Brothers had been, they were not deemed unworthy to have Heroic Honours paid to them.

Pausanias (1) tells us, that the Place where these two Princes slew one another, was near the Tomb of *Metætius* and *Tydeus*; and that as a Monument of that fatal Combat, a Pillar was set up there, and a Marble Buckler fastened to it. He adds; *I never joined in the Sacrifices that are performed there, but two Things I learned from Persons of Credit; the first, that the Thebans sacrifice to several other Heroes, but particularly to these; the other, that while they are burning the Victims offered in Sacrifice to these hostile Brothers, the Fire and Smoak visibly part asunder.*

The Learned know that *Callimachus* is the first who advanced this pretended Miracle, and in this he has been followed by his Successors, especially by *Ovid* (a).

After the Death of *Etbeocles*, his Son *Laodamas* succeeded him, under the Tutorage of *Creon*, and it was upon his Majority, that the *Epigoni* attempted the second Expedition. After the Loss of the Battle which we have been speaking of, he retired into *Illyricum* (2) with those who were willing to follow him. It was in the same Country that *Cadmus*, his Ancestor, being forced to quit *Beotia*, as has been said in his History, fixed his Residence, and where probably he had settled some Correspondence with the *Thebans*. During these Transactions, the *Argives*, Masters of *Thebes*, set upon the Throne *Thersander*, the Son of *Polynices*. This is the same *Thersander* who was slain by *Tbelephus* in *Mysia*, when he was going to *Troy* with the other *Greeks*. As he had highly distinguished himself in this Fight, he had a Monument erected to him in the City *Elea*, towards the Banks of the *Caicus*; and even in the Time of *Pausanias*, there was still to be seen, in the public Place of that City, a Tomb of Stone, exposed to the open Air, to which the Inhabitants came every Year

to

(1) In Beot.

(a) *Ipsa sibi discors, tanquam mandetur ab illis,
Scinditur in partes atra favilla duas.*

*Hoc, memini, quondam fieri non posse loquebar,
Et me Battiaades iudice falsus erat.*

Trist. l. 6. Eleg. 6.

(2) *Pausan.* loc. cit.

to do Honour to his Memory. After the Death of *Thersander*, the *Greeks* equipped another Fleet, and chose *Penelus* for their Admiral, because the Son of *Thersander* was not then of Age to take the Command; but *Penelus* again was slain by *Euripylus* the Son of *Telephus*, and then the *Thebans* owned for their King *Tijamenes* the Son of *Thersander* and *Demonassa*, who was the Daughter of *Amphiarus*. The Furies who continually haunted the Race of *Odypus* and *Laius*, spared *Tijamenes*, but his Son *Antesion* was so persecuted by them, as to be forced to remove into the Country of the *Dorians*, by the Advice of the Oracle; and the *Thebans*, tired with obeying Princes so unfortunate, changed the Form of their Government.

We may remark, before we go farther, that *Eschiles* enumerates only Seven Leaders in the first Expedition, which is the Occasion of the Title of his Tragedy of *the Seven before Thebes*, tho' they were a great many more in Number; for, as *Pausanias* observes (1) the most considerable of the *Argives*, *Messenians*, and *Arcadians*, were willing to share the Glory of that Enterprize.

C H A P. III.

The particular History of those Chiefs.

THO' we have spoken of those Warriors in general, yet I think it proper to give a more particular Account of the chief of them, beginning with *Amphiarus*.

The History of AMPHIARAUS.

Amphiarus was a celebrated Soothsayer of that Time, and a Man very considerable by Birth. His Father was *Oicles*, descended in a right Line from *Melepus*; but to support the Reputation he had acquired, of having Insight into Futurity, he was given out to be the Son of *Apollo* and *Hypermetra*. *Aletrius*, the King of *Argos*, to whose Court he had retired, gave

(1) In Corinth. c. 20.

him in Marriage his Daughter *Eriphyle*, who was the Cause of his Death, and of all the Misfortunes that befel his Family afterwards. Whether this famous Soothsayer had foreseen by the Principles of his Art, as *Homer*, *Diodorus*, *Pliny*, and *Statius* will have it, that he was to perish at the War of *Thebes*, or rather, being afraid to engage in so hazardous an Expedition, he did all that lay in his Power to prevent his going thither, and having departed from the Court of *Adrastus*, hid himself so carefully, that it would have been impossible to discover him, but for the Treachery of his Wife, who informed *Adrastus*, her Brother, of the Place of his Retreat. That Princess preferred the Preservation of her Country to the Life of her Husband; or rather, she was bribed by a Necklace of great Value, which *Adrastus*, or, according to others, *Polynices*, gave her, to induce her to reveal to him the Secret. Thus *Amphiaras* was necessitated to go to the War with the rest; but before he set out, he ordered *Alcmeon* his Son to slay *Eriphyle* so soon as he heard the News of his Death. In Fact, he lost his Life there, as he had foreseen; having fallen into a deep Pit in his Return from that Expedition, while he was amusing himself in considering the Flight of some Birds, to draw Omens from them (1); which makes *Pausanias* say (2), that the Earth had opened and swallowed him up with his Chariot.

Pindar (3) ascribes this Death to a supernatural Cause, when he says that *Jupiter*, with a Thunderbolt, plunged him headlong, and his Chariot, into the Bowels of the Earth; which happened, according to *Strabo*, in *Attica*, near *Oropus*, in a Place named *Harmia*, or the Chariot: And in Proof of this, that learned Author relies upon the Authority of *Homer* (4). *Alcmeon*, being apprized of his Father's Death, executed the cruel Order he had received from him, and slew his Mother. Being forced to go to the Court of *Phegeus* to be expiated from his Crime, according to the

(1) *Strabo*, l. 9.
(4) *Iliad* l. 2.

(2) In *Corinth*, c. 33.

(3) *Nem.*

met of that Age, and at the same Time to be de-
 ed from the Furies that persecuted him, that is,
 the Stings of his own Conscience, which allowed
 no Repose; that Prince received him kindly, and
 him his Daughter *Alphesibea* in Marriage, to
 m *Alcmeon* gave a Present of *Eriphyle's* Necklace,
 having afterwards divorced her, *Callirboë* (a) the
 ghter of *Acbelous*, at whose Court he had Occasion
 ; he went and asked back the Necklace from his
 her-in-law, to whom *Alphesibea* had given it. They,
 vengeance the Affront, which he had offered to their
 ; laid wait for him in the Way, and assassinated

The Children whom he had by *Callirboë* (b) re-
 ed his Death, so soon as they were grown up to
 hood, and this is what gave rise to the Fable of
 Goddess *Hebe's* having added to the Number of
 Years, to put them speedily into a Condition to
 ite that Vengeance, as we read in *Ovid* (1). Thus
 bed the whole Family of the famous *Amphiaras*.
 his fatal Necklace, which we have been speaking
 and the Gold which the *Argive* Ladies had given
eripbyle, to induce her to Discover her Husband,
 the Source of all these Misfortunes; according to
 ice.

*Concidit Auguris Argivi Domus
 Ob Lucrum demersa Excidio* (c).

Acbelous, considering all the Disasters had been oc-
 ned by that Necklace, deposited it in the Temple
elpbos, where it was preserved, until the Tyrants
 ed it away with the other Riches that were kept
 : *Amphiaras* had acquired a great Reputation.
iles, in his Tragedy of the *seven before Thebes*,
 a fine Character of him, and at the same Time
 otes the Misfortune of the Good, who are often

O 2

engaged

Others give her the Name of *Arfinoë*.

They were called *Amphiteres* and *Acarnan*, and settled after-
 in *Armenia*.

Met. l. 9.

Homer, in the Second Book of the *Odyssey*, says something
 Necklace, on Occasion of *Eriphyle's* Ghost that appeared to
 h.

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engaged with the Wicked, such as, in his Opinion, most of those were, who joined in that War. *Amphiaras* left four Children, two Sons and two Daughters; the two Sons were *Alcmeon* and *Amphilochus*, who probably was then very young, since *Pausanias*, in his Description of the Chest of the *Cypselides* (1), whereon was represented the Palace of *Amphiaras*, and the History of his Family, says an old Woman, was there seen holding in her Arms the young *Amphilochus*. The two Daughters were called *Eurydice* and *Demonassa*. The Poet *Asius*, as we read in the same Author, gives him a third Daughter named *Alcmena*, as was the Mother of *Hercules*.

Amphiaras, after his Death, was ranked among the Demi-Gods, and honoured accordingly; if we may believe *Pausanias*, he was even acknowledged and honoured as a God (2), and the *Oropians*, a People of *Attica*, built a Temple to him, which became famous afterwards by the Oracles that he delivered there. The Author, now quoted, speaks also of another Temple which this new God had at *Argos*, near which was the Tomb of *Eriphyle* his Wife, and the Chapel of *Baton*, his Relation and Charioteer, who perished with him when he was swallowed up in the Earth. Tho' *Philostratus*, in the Picture of *Amphiaras*, represents him conducting his Chariot himself, 'tis certain, from *Pausanias* and others, that *Baton* served him for Charioteer on that Occasion. He had also another Temple in *Attica* (3), near which was a Fountain, which bore his Name, and whose Water was used neither for Sacrifices nor Lustrations, not so much as to wash Hands; but those who believed themselves cured of some Disease, by the Assistance of that God, were obliged to throw into it some Piece of Gold or Silver; and what made that Fountain the Object of Veneration, was, that *Amphiaras*, after his Deification, was believed to have there rose up from under the Earth. We have already said in the History of Oracles (4), that those who repaired

(1) In Eliac.
(A) Vol. I. B. IV.

(2) In Boet.

(3) Pausan. in Attic.

paired to the Temple he had among the *Oropians*, after having offered up a Sheep, stretched the Skin of it upon the Ground, and slept upon it, expecting that the God would inform them in a Dream of what they wanted to know. On Occasion whereof *Plutarch* tells us (1) that in the Time of *Xerxes*, a Man was sent to Consult this Oracle in Relation to *Mardonius*; who having fallen asleep in the Sanctuary, felt something pushing him back with Violence; and when he would not depart, he was struck in the Head with a Stone; which corresponds with the tragical End of that Poet, whom the Tutor to the *Lacedemonian* King, who commanded the *Grecian* Army, slew with a Blow of a Stone. We are told of so many Prodigies wrought in the Temple, which the *Thebans* had raised to him, that the impious *Celsus* durst compare that Impostor to *Jesus Christ*; which *Origen* refutes unanswerably (2), by detecting the Cheats of the Priests, and the other Sources of those pretended Miracles (a).

Jophon of *Gnossus*, one of those who explained the Antiquities of *Greece* to *Pausanias* (3), would needs persuade him that there were many of *Amphiaraus's* Prophecies written in *Hexameter* Verse; and among others a Response he had given to the *Argives*, when they went to besiege *Thebes*. "For my Part, says
 " this Author, I give no Credit to them: whatever
 " pleases the People, and has an Air of the marvelous,
 " easily finds Belief with them, and 'tis with
 " Difficulty they will allow themselves to be unde-
 " ceived; but except the Oracles of *Apollo* which are
 " attested by all Antiquity, I don't believe there ever
 " were any other. All those who took upon them to
 " foretel future Events, were Interpreters of Dreams,
 " or People who had some Skill of the Flight of Birds,
 " or of the Entrails of Victims. 'Tis therefore very
 " probable that *Amphiaraus* excelled in the Interpretation

O 3

(1) Cessation of Oracles. (2) Contra Celsum. l. 3.

(a) Virgil, *Æn.* l. 7. informs us, that the Oracle of *Faunus* was also consulted by Dreams.

(3) In Attic.

tion of Dreams; and what persuades me of it, is, that now when he is worshipped as a God, he delivers his Responses only by Dreams. Those who come to consult him, begin with Self-purification; then they sacrifice not only to *Amphiaraus*, but to the other Divinities under whose Name his Altar is consecrated."

As according to *Pausanias*, *Amphiaraus* had also his Tomb at *Sparta*, which the Sons of *Tyndarus* had raised to him, as to their Cousin German, 'tis probable, that he participated also of the Honours paid to those Heroes. Nor is it without Reason that *Pausanias* says *Castor* and *Pellux* were his Cousin Germans; for *Amphiaraus* was the Son of *Oicles* and *Hypermetra* the Daughter of *Thestius*. Thus *Amphiaraus* and the *Tyndaride* were the Sons of two Sisters, and consequently Cousin Germans.

The History of ADRASTUS.

Adrastus King of *Argos*, and Son of *Talaus* and *Lysanassa* the Daughter of *Polybus* King of *Sicyon*, was a Prince of great Valour, who acquired a high Reputation in the War of *Thebes*, which he undertook to support the Rights of *Polynices* his Son-in-law. He was, as has been said, the only one of the Chiefs who returned from thence, and he governed with great Equity and Justice the Kingdom of *Argos*, and that of *Sicyon*, which *Polybus* had bequeathed to him. He was of so sweet a Disposition and gentle Demeanour, that he won the Hearts of all his Subjects. He suffered from none but *Amphiaraus*, his Brother-in-law, who had obliged him to leave *Argos*; but he revenged himself on him afterwards, as has been said.

This Prince had several Children, *Cyanipe*, *Egialea* whom he gave in Marriage to *Diomedes*, *Argia* and *Deiphile* who married *Polynices* and *Tydeus* by a very odd kind of Adventure. Having gone to consult the Oracle of *Apollo*, he learned that his two Daughters were to be married, the one to a Boar, the other to a Lion,

Lion; and some Time after, the two Princes now named having arrived at his Court, the one covered with a Lion's Skin, as being a *Theban*, and valuing himself upon wearing the Equipage of *Hercules*; the other the Son of *Oeneus* King of *Calydon*, wearing the Skin of a Boar, in Memory of that which *Meleager* his Brother had slain; *Adrastus* made no Doubt but that this was the true Sense of the Oracle, and gave them his two Daughters. After a long and happy Reign, he died of Grief, for the Loss of his Son *Egialeus*, slain before *Thebes*, and was honoured as a Heroe, especially at *Sicyon*, where he had a Temple and Altars. There was even established in Honour of him a solemn Feast, which lasted till the Time of *Cliftbenes*, the Tyrant of *Sicyon*, who abolished it in Hatred of the *Argives* (1). Thus is the Story told by *Herodotus*: *Cliftbenes*, Prince of *Sicyon* the Enemy of the *Argives*, having resolved to demolish the Tomb of that Prince, the Priestesses whom he went to consult endeavoured to dissuade him from it. He did not appear openly to oppose the Oracle; but he accomplished his Purpose by this Expedient; he sent to *Thebes* to demand the Body of *Menalippus* the sworn Enemy of *Adrastus*; and having interred him in the Tomb of the Kings of *Sicyon*, built a Temple to him, to which he transferred the Worship and Ceremonies that were celebrated in Honour of *Adrastus* (2), who, he thought, would in Time be forgotten for *Menalippus*.

So many Fables have been uttered about the famous Horse of *Adrastus*, named *Arion*, that I must needs say a Word or two of him in this Place. *Servius* and *Probus* will have it, that he was the same with that which *Neptune* had produced with a Blow of his Trident, near *Aibens*: *Pausanias* asserts (3), that he was the Son of that God, and *Ceres*, or of the Wind *Zephyr*, and a Harpy, as may be seen in *Quintus Calaber*: We are told farther, that the *Nereids* fed him, and that he sometimes was employed in drawing the Chariot of *Neptune*, who gave him afterwards to *Copreus* King of

O 4

Aliaartum,

(1) *Herodot.* L. 5.

(2) *Idem* L. 4.

(3) L. 8.

Aliatum, as we learn from the Scholiast upon *Homer* (1). He again made a Present of him to *Hercules*, who made Use of him against *Cygnus* the Son of *Mars*, and gave him to *Adrastus*. This Horse is said to have had the Feet of his Right Side like those of a Man, and also to have had the Use of Speech (2). All this, when strip'd of *Hyperboles*, means no more, than that *Adrastus* had a very fine Horse, which had been in the Possession of several Masters. No Doubt, what made them give him *Neptune* for his Father, was because that God was reputed the first who broke Horses; and those who make him the Son of *Zephirus*, had a Regard to his Swiftnefs, or rather to the fabulous Opinion which *Virgil* speaks of in his *Georgics*, namely, that Mares are impregnated by turning towards the Wind; and I presume we are in like Manner to explain what *Homer* says (3) of *Erichthonius's* Horses, of those of *Achilles*, and others, that were believed to be of divine Extraction.

The History of ANTIGONE.

Creon, the Brother of *Jocasta*, having seized the Crown of *Thebes*, after the Death of the two irreconcilable Brothers, had given express Orders not to bury either the Body or the Ashes of *Polynices* (4); but *Antigone*, his Sister, went out of the City by Night, and performed to him that last Duty. The King was informed next Day, that some body had disobeyed his Orders, and to find out who it was, he ordered the Body to be again dug up, and his Guards to watch it. The next Night the Princess was taken by Surprise, as she was coming to bewail her Brother's Misfortune, and was brought before the King, who commanded her to be buried alive; but she prevented so terrible a Death by strangling herself. Prince *Hemon*, her Lover, killed himself in Despair (5), and *Eurydice*, her Mother, not being able to survive so many Catastrophes of Woe, likewise proved her own Executioner. This

Event

(1) Upon the fourth *Iliad*. (2) *Propert. L. 2. Eleg. last.*
 (3) *Iliad L. 2.* (4) *Sophoc. Trag. of Antig. Philost, &c.*
 (5) He was the Son of *Creon*.

Event is the Subject of a fine Tragedy of *Sophocles*, which made such a deep Impression upon the *Athenians*, at the first Representation of it, that they rewarded the Author with the Government of *Samos*.

This is not the only Heroic Action which the War of *Thebes* furnishes us with. When *Theseus* conferred magnificent Funeral Obsequies upon those who had died before that City, the Body of *Capaneus* was not allowed to be buried with the rest, because he had been Thunder-struck, and was considered as a Monster of Impiety, who by his Blasphemies had drawn down upon himself the Wrath of Heaven (a), and a Funeral Pile was made for him by itself. His Wife *Evadne*, the Daughter of *Ipbis*, having dressed herself in her finest Cloaths, went up to a Rock, at the Foot of which they were burning the Body of her Husband; and from thence threw herself into the midst of the Pile, to mingle her Ashes with those of a Spouse who had always been dear to her (1): I shall give his History in a few Words.

The History of CAPANEUS.

Capaneus, one of the seven Leaders of the Army of the *Argives*, was brave and couragious, but of a fierce and impetuous Valour. He was the first that scaled the Walls of *Thebes*; but his Attempt succeeded ill, he was overthrown with Stones, and died upon the Rampart. 'Tis probable, that in his Life-time he had shewed little Respect to the Gods, which perhaps gave Occasion to say that he had been Thunder-struck, as a Punishment for his Impiety. *Statius* paints him furious and outrageous, and puts into his Mouth a Thousand Blasphemies and Extravagancies: He is the *Achilles* of the *Thebaid*; bating only that this Poet, who designed to draw his Character after that of *Homer*, had
neither

(a) *Pliny*, L. 2. c. 54. positively says it was forbid to burn the Bodies of those who had been Thunder-struck, and that they were only allowed Burial: *Cremari fas non est; condi terra Religio tradit.*

(1) *Euripid.* in *Sup. Philost.* upon *Evadne*.

neither so fine nor so just an Imagination as the *Greek*. Besides, this Author departs both from *Eschiles* and *Euripides*, who have given no such Character of *Capaneus*; which verifies what I have already said more than once, that the first Poets come nearer Historical Truth, than those who were later. To this Effect, *Euripides* speaks of him in his *Suppliants*. “He was,
 “ says that Poet (1), a rich Man, but without Pride;
 “ a Lover of Simplicity, a Stranger to that foolish
 “ Vanity which Plenty inspires; sober, moderate, and
 “ a Despiser of those whom he saw abandon themselves
 “ to Feasting and Gaiety; being persuaded that Vir-
 “ tue and high living are two Things incompatible:
 “ A Man of Honour, a faithful Friend, particularly
 “ towards the absent; candid, courteous, and com-
 “ plaisant; a strict Observer of his Word, even to-
 “ wards Slaves.”

As the same Poet goes on in this Passage to draw the Characters of the other Leaders in that Expedition, I cannot do better than continue to copy him. “The
 “ next, continues he, is *Esbeocles*, a young Heroe,
 “ not blest with many of the Gifts of Fortune, but
 “ crowned with Honour in *Argolis*; so disinterested
 “ in the Services he did his Country, that he could
 “ never be prevailed on to receive any Reward, even
 “ from his Friends, for Fear of corrupting his Inte-
 “ grity, be it ever so little, and of bringing himself
 “ under Obligations by Gifts. He bore a Hatred to
 “ all bad Members of Society, but never allowed him-
 “ self to hate the Society itself; and he distinguished
 “ between the Commonwealth, and those who ren-
 “ dered it odious by Male-Administration.”

“ The third is *Hippomedon*, who from his earliest
 “ Years had the Strength of Mind to trample upon
 “ Effeminacy and Voluptuousness, giving himself up
 “ to the Employments of a Country Life; living
 “ hardily, and inuring his Body to the laborious Ex-
 “ ercises of Riding, Hunting, and the Bow, with a
 “ View to make himself a Warrior serviceable to his
 “ Country.”

Par.

(1) Act. iv.

“ *Paribenopeus*, the Son of *Atalanta*, is the fourth,
 “ Having his Education in *Argolis* tho’ an *Arcadian*,
 “ he had the Talent of pleasing the Citizens and the
 “ State by his gracious Behaviour, his Sweetness and
 “ Modesty; averse to all wrangling, and whatever be-
 “ spoke an over-bearing Temper of Mind, a Thing
 “ so insupportable in a Citizen, especially in a Stranger.
 “ With Sword in Hand he defended our Interests more
 “ like an *Argive* than a Foreigner. Tho’ he was the
 “ Idol of the fair Sex, he was never known to depart
 “ from the Modesty of his Age, nor to stain his Vir-
 “ tue,

“ As to *Tydeus*, he deserves a high Encomium, which
 “ I shall give in a Word or two. He was a much bet-
 “ ter Warrior than an Orator. Being accomplished
 “ in all the Stratagems of War, tho’ inferior to his
 “ Brother *Meleager* in other Parts of Knowledge, he
 “ was nothing short of him in the Art of War, and
 “ the only Science he professed was that of Arms.
 “ Ambitious of Glory, full of Ardour and Courage;
 “ who had a Contempt of Money, tho’ rich; and tho’
 “ no eloquent Speaker, performed many glorious At-
 “ chievements that spoke for him. From these Sket-
 “ ches we will no longer be surprized that such Heroes
 “ fought before *Thebes* till they all died upon the
 “ Spot.”

The History of TIRESIAS.

Though *Tiresias* is not mentioned in this War, yet
 as he was a celebrated Soothsayer, and flourished at
Thebes, at the same Time with *Amphiaraus*, I thought
 proper to give his History a place here. *Tiresias* the
 Son of *Everus* and *Cariclo*, devoted himself, according
 to the Manner of those Times, to the Science of *Augu-
 ries*, wherein he succeeded so well, that he acquired a
 high Character, and was reputed an able Soothsayer.
 The *Thebans* put so much Faith in all his Predictions,
 that he obliged them to repair, after the Loss of their
 City, to a Corner of *Beotia*; but as expert as he was,
 he

he had not foreseen that this Retreat was to prove fatal to himself. He lost his Life by drinking the Water of the Fountain of *Tilphosa* (1). As this Diviner lived very long (a), and grew blind, he gave a Handle to two ridiculous Fables: The one, that he had lost the Use of his Sight, for having seen *Minerva* in the Bath, as *Pherecides* says; and this Author adds, that as a Compensation the Goddess conferred upon him the Gift of Prophecy; the other, that it was *Juno* had inflicted this Punishment upon him, because he had decided the Question against her in favour of *Jupiter*, whether the Man or the Woman had most Pleasure in Marriage, as we learn from *Ovid* and *Hyginus*, who also inform us, that *Jupiter* to make him amends for the Loss of his Eyes, made him the greatest Prophet of his Time.

Hesiod (2) relates how *Tiresias* changed his Sex, for having struck with his Rod upon Mount *Cyllene*, two Serpents as they were in Copulation; and he adds that he resumed his Sex at the end of seven Years, after having struck them a second Time; a Fable whereof I see no other Foundation, but that the famous *Theban* had wrote upon the Prerogatives of both Sexes. We may however adopt the Opinion of some Authors, that this pretended Change of Sex, was founded upon the Doctrine taught by this famous Soothsayer, who valued himself upon his great Skill in Astronomy, namely that the Stars not only were animated; which was a Notion pretty common in that Time, but also that they were of different Sexes.

We may observe that the Devil had taken upon him in that Time to imitate the Conduct of God; for as in the Age we are now upon, which answers to the Time of the first Judges and *Samuel*, there were many Prophets or Seers among the *Jews*, so we find several Soothsayers among the *Gentiles*; *Amphiaras* at *Argos*, *Tiresias* at *Thebes*, and not long after the famous *Calchas*

(1) It is in *Beotia*.

(a) Some say he lived five Generations, and more.

(2) Theog.

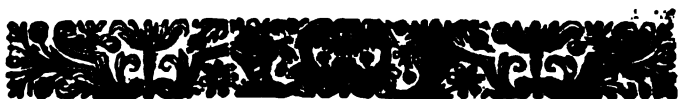
chas and *Mopfus*, *Helenus* the Son of *Priam*, and *Cassandra* his Sister, and many others whose Names we have in *Clemens Alexandrinus* (1). 'Tis true the detestable Study of Magic which *Orpheus* had brought from *Egypt* was then in vogue, and as the Times were very superstitious, the Diviners and false Prophets were consulted upon every Occasion.

I said at the Beginning of this Chapter, that the first *Theban* War happened about ten Years after the Conquest of the *Argonauts*; and consequently twenty-five Years before the taking of *Troy*; thus that of the *Epigoni* will fall upon the fifteenth Year before the Destruction of that City, and but five Years before the Siege was undertaken. Every thing conspires to support this *Æra*; the same Heroes are at both these Wars; and some of their Sons; and *Thersander* the Son of *Polynices*, embarked a few Years after for *Troy*, and was slain in *Myfia*, as has been said. *Hercules*, who died not till some Years after the Expedition to *Colchis*, was dead before the first of these two Wars, and *Theseus* still alive, since he performed the last Duties to the *Argives* who lost their lives there. Now we know that the latter died not long before the Siege of *Troy*, and consequently very soon after these two Wars. *Acbelous* King of *Etolia*, who had given his eldest Daughter in Marriage to *Hercules*, was still alive, and disposed of his Daughter *Eriphyle*, to *Alcmeon* the Son of *Amphiaraus*. In a Word, all the Synchronisms that can be deduced from the Heroes living in that Period of Time, being so many Proofs that the two Wars, whereof I have given the History, were prior to that of *Troy*, and posterior to that of the *Centaurs*, to the Expedition to *Colchis*, and to the Hunting of *Calydon*, prove at the same Time, that we must necessarily place them both in the Years I have now marked, and I know no solid Objection can be raised against these *Æras*. For once more, we have nothing else to guide us in the History of an Age so remote from the Ancients themselves who first make
.. mention

(1) Strom. l. 2.

mention of it; but the Method of Synchronisms and Generations. Now if we read all the Historians, Mythologists and Poets; we shall find in them these Synchronisms and Generations such as I have stated them.

Lastly, to finish the History of the heroic Ages, it remains that I speak of the Siege of *Troy*; of all the Springs of that Expedition, of its concomitant Effects; and of what was consequent upon it.



B O O K V.

The History of the Trojan War, and of those who joined in it.

WE come now to what is undoubtedly the most celebrated Event of the fabulous and heroic Age; and what we may also call the last; since from thence to the historical Age, nothing of Importance happened in *Greece*, but the Wars of *Hercules's* Descendants against *Eurystheus*, and at length their Entrance into the *Peloponnesus*. I added, the most celebrated, by reason of the Number and Quality of those who took part therein, as well on the side of the *Grecians* as of the *Trojans*. Thus this Event deserves to be considered in all the Length I shall give it; since the History thereof being fully laid open, throws a great Light upon the Obscurity of an Age so remote from us, and is of all others the most proper to make us acquainted with the State of *Greece* in that Period of Time, its different Kingdoms, its Strength, and the principal Families whereof it was composed.

As this famous Expedition of the *Greeks* against *Asia* always appeared considerable, several Ancients have spoke of it; and *Homer* alone would have rendered it
immortal.

tal. He it is I put at the Head of those whose
 rity I shall make use of in recounting the chief
 tures thereof. To that great and remarkable
 join *Virgil*, who in the second Book of his *Æneid*,
 scribed the taking of that City, and is so very
 d particular upon the Head, that it is plain he
 nsulted Works which are not now extant. In
 g him we seem transported as it were to *Troy*,
 so well acquainted with its very Streets and prin-
 Palaces, that we could even go thro' it without
 our Way. We have also for our Guides *Quintus*
r, who tho' more modern than *Virgil*, and
 less of less Authority, yet lets us know some Cir-
 ances in relation to this War, which we should
 or elsewhere in vain. *Colutbus* and *Triphiodorus*,
 have treated the same Subject, have also been of
 Use to me, and I have not even neglected *Dicys*
rete, nor *Dares* the *Phrygian*; not that I think
 of them was in the Time of that War, as their
 ks set forth; but the former is at least of Anti-
 enough to have examined Originals that are now
Titus Livius and *Diomysius* of *Halicarnassus* have
 een useless to me, no more than the *Iliac Table*,
 cient Work whereof I shall give a more particular
 unt afterwards, as also some *Bas-Reliefs* and several
 ls. To these Helps, I have joined those that
 be drawn from the Description *Pausanias* gives of
notus's Paintings, some whereof represented se-
 Particularities of the taking of *Troy*. These are
 ources whence I have taken all that is to be the
 ct of the two following Books; adding to them,
 ding to the Scheme I laid down in this Mytholo-
 in Explanation of the Fables that are interwove
 the Thread of this History, which abounds with
 of them than any other in all Antiquity.

The Original of this War.

It is a History I write and not a Poem, I
 not imitate *Homer*, who begins his *Iliad* with the
 Wrath

Wrath of *Achilles*; that is, with an Incident which happened not till the Beginning of the last Year of the Siege of *Troy*. We shall ascend up to the Source of this War, and trace it, *ab ovo*, according to *Horace's* Expression (1); examine what were the Causes thereof.

Virgil, who according to the usual Practice of the Poets, resolves all into the Intervention of the Gods, *per Deorum ambages*, says that *Juno*, provoked at the Judgment of *Paris*, and the Rape of the *Pbrygian Ganymede*, took Revenge upon the *Trojans*, and that we are to look for no other Cause of the Destruction of their Capital but the Wrath of the Gods (a); the whole founded upon a fabulous Tradition which we must first relate, and then consider what may have given rise to it.

Jupiter enamoured of *Thetis* the Sister of *Lycomedes* King of *Scyros*, having learned from *Prometheus*, that according to the Oracle of *Themis*, the Child to be born of that Princess was to be more powerful than his Father, resigned her to *Peleus* the Son of *Eacus*. To make the Ceremony of their Marriage the more solemn, all the Gods were invited to it, none being excepted but the Goddess *Discord*. She, highly disobliged at this Affront, found a Way to be signally revenged, by throwing a golden Apple into the midst of that august Assembly, with this Inscription, *For the most Beautiful*. We may easily judge there was none of the Goddesses, who did not lay claim to the Possession of a Present not so considerable for the Matter of it, as for being made the Prize of Merit. However, they were mostly so equitable as to resign their Pretensions to *Juno*, *Minerva*, and *Venus*. These three Goddesses forthwith demanded Judgment. The Affair was of a delicate Nature, and *Jupiter* himself not daring to decide the Controversy,

(1) Art. Poet.

(a) *Manet alta mente repostum*

Judicium Paridis, spreteque injuria formæ. . . . *Æn. l. 1.*

- - - - - *Verum inclementia Divum*

Hæc evertit opes, sternitque a culmine Trojam.

Æneid. lib. 2:

Controversy, thought fit to send them (i), under the Conduct of *Mercury*, to Mount *Ida* in *Phrygia*, to have the Decision of a Shepherd named *Paris*, in reputation for being a very competent, and at the same Time a very equitable Judge in those Matters. The Goddesses appeared before him in their gayest Dress, and we may reasonably conjecture that they neglected no Art that might set off and give a Heightening to their Charms.

In order to gain the good Will of their Judge, and engage him each in her own Favour, they made him the most flattering Promises. *Juno*, whose Power extended over all Thrones and Scepters, soothed him with the Prospect of immense Power and Riches, if he would adjudge the Prize to her. *Minerva* promised him Virtue, as the most substantial Good, and *Venus* assured him, that if he would decide in her Favour, she would make him Master of the finest Woman in the World.

Paris, put to a Nonplus, and being determined not to pronounce Sentence till he had fully examined into the Merits of the Cause, demanded of them a Condition at which the Modesty of *Juno* and *Minerva* were at first alarmed; but what may not that Sex be brought to, in order to display that conscious Excellence which their Hearts are so ardently set upon (a)? At length he pronounced in *Venus's* Favour. She was actually the greatest Beauty of the three, and probably the Promise she had made him, was more to his Taste than either Riches or Virtue.

After this Judgment, *Juno* and *Minerva* wreak'd all their Spite upon *Paris*, swearing that they would take Vengeance not only upon their Judge, but upon *Priam* his Father, and upon the *Trojan* Empire whose Ruin was determined; but he minded nothing but the Promise made him by *Venus*. Some time after having occasion to go into *Greece*, for Reasons that shall be

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given

(i) Hygin. Ovid, Coluthus, &c.

(a) We may see this whole Narrative in *Coluthus*, *Of the Rape of Helen*, and in *Lucian*. The *Iliack* Table confirms what these Authors say, as also a Medal of *Morel*, representing the three Goddesses quite naked in the Presence of their Judge.

given afterwards, he staid some Time at *Sparta* during the Absence of *Menelaus*, whom the Affairs of his Brother *Agamemnon* had called to *Argos*, and having captivated the Heart of *Helen* the greatest Beauty of her Time, carried her off, and thereby kindled the War which I am going to describe.

Tho' this whole Narration appears a mere Fiction, it wants not however some Foundation. The learned *Meziriac* relates (1), upon the Authority of *Suidas*, *Cedrenus*, and several others of the Ancients, that at the Nuptials of *Thetis* and *Peleus*, which were celebrated with all possible Magnificence, the Princes and Princesses who were invited thither, assumed for that Day the Names of Gods and Goddeesses; much in the same Way as at our Village-Festivals, especially at that of the Kings, the Country-People plume themselves with the Names of Princes and their Ministers; and this is the more probable, that the Feast given on occasion of that Marriage was called afterwards the Banquet of the Gods. *Peleus* affected to assume the Name of *Nereus*, because *Thetis* his Spouse bore that of one of the *Nereids*. A Forest on Mount *Pelion*, near *Chiron's* Cave was made choice of for the Place of the Entertainment (2). During the Feast there arose some Diffension among the Ladies about Beauty, which was the Source of no small Disorder. Several Princes took part in it, either in behalf of their Wives, or of their Mistresses.

This Contest not being likely to be easily decided, 'tis very probable that at last it was found necessary to refer it to one of the Princes who was at the Feast, and whose Judgment disoblighed those against whom it was pronounced. Some Poet finding this an entertaining Subject, made a Poem upon it, wherein under the Lies of the Gods and Goddeesses, whose Names the Guests had assumed, he gave a happy Description of this Adventure.

(1) Epistle of *Brissis* to *Achilles*.

(2) This Fact represented upon a Marble is quoted by *Pausanias*; there several of the Gods are knowable by their Symbols, and *Chiron* who has the half of his Body out of the Cave.

venture, and invented several fabulous Circumstances proper to embellish it. The Reason why they have wrought into it the Judgment of *Paris* who was of *Pbrygia*, while the Feast was celebrated in *Theffaly*, is, as we learn from *Cedrenus* and *Suidas*, because *Paris* reduced, for Reasons to be given in his History, to keep Flocks upon Mount *Ida*, composed a Poem upon the Goddess *Venus*, wherein he preferred her Beauty to that of *Pallas* and *Juno*, which gave rise to the Fable. To which we may add that *Paris*, a Man of Genius and of great Equity, had often been chosen by the Shepherds of Mount *Ida* for the Umpire in their Quarrels; which contributed not a little to make him pass for the Judge of the three Goddesses. It will be said these are only Conjectures; but in Facts of this Nature, what direct Proofs can be given? And is it not allowable, by reducing ancient Fictions to human Probability, to understand them in the same Sense, as we would a Work composed by some Poet at this Day upon a similar Subject.

Eusebius explains this Fiction with some little Variation, by saying that while *Helen* disputed the Prize of Beauty with two other *Grecian* Ladies, *Paris* judged in her Favour; that she suffered herself to be carried off, and that this had given rise to the Fable of the Judgment of the three Goddesses. But what Proofs does he rely upon? This is what he has not told us. There is even more probability in what we are told by some Authors, that it is founded upon a Dream of *Paris*, wherein that Prince thought he saw the three Goddesses appealing to him for his Judgment of their Beauty; and he decided in favour of *Venus*, who promised him the finest Woman in *Asia*. Dreams were considered as Revelations; thus he wanted no more, according to the Remark of *Dares* the *Pbrygian*, to determine him to accept the Command of the Fleet which his Father was going to send into *Greece* to demand *Hesper's* Estate, in hope of a Conquest more charming than that of his Aunt's Effects.

Be that as it will, Antiquity seems to have understood literally the Story of the Judgment of *Paris*, and we have in *Spon* (1) a fine Medal, struck under *Antoninus Pius*, on which are represented the three Goddesses now mentioned, on the Summit of a Mountain, with *Paris* led by *Mercury*: *Venus* only is seen naked; *Minerva* and *Juno* are still dressed.

Tho' I am no Partisan to allegorical Explications, there are some so ingenious that I cannot choose but take Notice of them. According to some Mythologists, this Fiction is nothing but an Emblem of the Mystery of the Creation, or, to conform myself to the usual Language of the Pagans upon this Subject, of the *Chaos*, and the Manner in which the World was formed out of it. The Gods assembled at the Marriage of *Tbetis* and *Peleus*, who breathe nothing but Joy and Pleasure, represent the Efforts of fertile Nature, to produce the Earth out of *Chaos*. *Discord* thwarts her by a thousand Obstacles and Artifices which she alone can contrive, and this *Discord* is nothing but the jarring Confusion of the Elements, always counter-acting one another. *Paris* at length is entrusted with the fatal Apple, and he without Hesitation adjudges it to *Venus* who is the Goddess of Reconciliation, of Harmony, and lastly, of Generation; by her means all begin to be unravelled; all begin to breathe, and live. This, according to the Mythologists, is the true Reason why the Ancients reckoned Love the first and eldest of all the Gods.

CH A P. II.

The true Cause of the Rape of Helen.

THE Question is, setting aside all Fiction, to find out the true Cause of the Rape of *Helen*, whereof the *Trojan War*, and the total Overthrow of *Priam's* Kingdom were the fatal Consequences.

Here I shall not insist on the ancient Jealousy mentioned by *Herodotus* between the *Greeks* and the *Asiatics*,

(1) *Recherch. curieuses. Diss.* 24.

sicks, upon account of mutual Rapes for which no Satisfaction had been given. The latter had carried off *Io*, even in the Port of *Argos*; and the former, *Medea*; which inflamed *Paris*, says the Author now quoted, with a Desire to travel into *Greece*, there to carry off a Wife, presuming he would be as little called to an Account for it, as others had been for former Rapes. But between the House of *Priam*, and that of *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus* his Brother, there was a hereditary Hatred. *Tantalus* had formerly carried off or destroyed *Ganymede*; now this *Tantalus* the Father of *Peleus*, was *Agamemnon's* great Grandfather, and *Ganymede* great Uncle to *Priam* (a): After the following Manner did that Affair happen. *Troas* King of *Troy*, having made several Conquests upon his Neighbours, sent his Son *Ganymede* accompany'd with some of his Friends (b) into *Lydia*, to offer Sacrifices in a Temple consecrated to *Jupiter*. *Tantalus* not knowing the King of *Troy's* Intention, took these Persons for Spies, and having apprehended the young *Ganymede*, clap'd him up in Prison, where he grieved himself to Death for the Insult offered him, and *Tantalus* sent back to *Troy* the rest of his Retinue, after giving that Prince a magnificent Funeral (c). Others are of Opinion that he kept him at his Court, and as *Tantalus* was reputed the Son of *Jupiter* and *Pluto* the Daughter of the *Ocean*, that he himself took the Surname of *Jupiter*, and made his Prisoner officiate as his Cup-bearer, which gave rise to the Fable of the Rape of that Prince by *Jupiter*; or rather this Rape of *Jupiter* transformed into an Eagle, denotes *Ganymede's* untimely Death, and the Swiftnefs with which the short Course of his Life had passed away. As the King of *Lydia* had made him serve for his Cup-bearer, this perhaps is what gave the

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Poets

(a) *Hyginus* is mistaken in making *Ganymede* the Son of *Erichonius*.

(b) His Retinue consisted of fifty Persons.

(c) *Suidas*, *Cedrenus*, *Eusebius*, &c. *Herodian* says this young Prince was slain by his Brother in some remote Place, and that he afterwards decreed divine Honours to him, giving out that *Jupiter* had ravished him.

Poets a Handle to say that the Gods had placed him among the Stars, where he forms the Sign of *Aquarius* (a).

Whatever be in that, there arose upon this Occasion a long War between *Tros* and *Tantalus*, and after their Death *Ilus* the Son of *Tros*, continued it against *Pelops* the Son of *Tantalus*, and obliged him to quit the Kingdom, and return to *Oenomaus* King of *Pisa*, whose Daughter he married, and had by her a Son named *Atræus*; thus we may suppose that *Paris*, the great Grandson of *Ilus*, *Ganymede's* Brother, ravished *Helen* by a kind of Reprisals against *Menelaus*, the great Grandson of *Ganymede's* Ravisher.

There was besides an Antipathy between the *Pbrygians* and *Greeks* of a later Date. *Hercules*, as has been said, had taken and sacked, about thirty-five Years before, the City *Troy*, and carried off *Hesione*, whom he had resigned to *Telamon*, and put *Laomedon* to death: And tho' he had left the Kingdom to *Priam*, the latter still remembered the Injury done to his Family: Thus we need not be surprized, if *Paris* in revenge sought to carry off a *Grecian* Woman; this sort of Revenge was very common in that Age. It is commonly believed that *Priam* sent that Prince to *Telamon's* Court, either to see his Aunt, or rather to take Possession of her Estate. *Paris* during this Expedition visited the principal Cities of *Greece*, and having staid some time at the Court of *Menelaus* King of *Sparta*, fell in love with *Helen*, the most beautiful Princess of that Time, and was beloved by her in his turn; and taking Advantage of the Husband's Absence (b), ravished her and carried her to *Troy*; or, according to *Herodotus*, being forced by contrary Wind to land in *Egypt*, *Proteus* detained *Helen*;

(a) *Hesiodus* av, *Hyginus* tells us, says it is *Deucalion* forms the Sign of *Aquarius*, upon Account of the Deluge that happened under his Reign: or, according to *Eubulus*, it is *Cecrops* who, before the Use of Wine, employed Water in Sacrifices. *Hygin. Poet. Astron.* c. 10.

(b) *Diodorus* of *Crete*, Lib. 10. says he went to *Crete* to share *Atræus's* Estate: *Dares* says *Paris* found *Helen* in the Island of *Cythera*.

Helen; but we shall give a full Account of this Adventure in the History of that Princess.

C H A P. III.

Of the War that ensued upon this Rape.

AS most of the Wars of that Time usually happened upon occasion of like Injuries, the *Greeks* prepared themselves in good Earnest to revenge the Insult offered to one of their Kings; but that they might not be too precipitant, but render the *Trojans* quite inexcusable, they were willing to try first the Way of Negotiation, and therefore sent Ambassadors to *Priam* (1), to prevail upon him to repair this Injury; the Embassy was fruitless, and *Priam* made no other Answer to the Deputies, but that they had no Reason to expect Redress, they who had made no Satisfaction for the Injury they had done to *Æetes*, for the Rape of *Medea* his Daughter, and still more lately for that of his own Sister *Hesione*. The *Greeks*, provoked at this Answer, were now bent on taking Revenge by force of Arms, and the War was heartily resolved upon. For that End a general Assembly of the States of *Greece* was held at *Argos*, or rather at *Mycene*, where reigned *Agamemnon* the Brother of *Menelaus*, and the most powerful Prince in *Greece* (a); or if we may believe one of the most learned Men of our Time (2), at *Larissa* the Court of *Peleus* the Father of *Achilles*, a Prince more powerful by Sea than the rest, and consequently more necessary upon this Occasion.

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The

(1) Herodot. loc. cit.

(a) I put the Reader in mind once for all, that when in this History of *Greece* we speak of powerful Kings, Monarchies, &c. it is to be understood in comparison of their Neighbours; for in reality they were but very petty Princes, whose Dominions were of small Extent, and often confined to their Capital, and some other Towns and Villages at no great Distance. *Argolis* itself which formed those of *Agamemnon*, was a very small Country, and there are several Estates in *France*, more considerable by the Defensives than depend upon them, than this Kingdom was.

(2) Father Hardouin, *Apol. d' Homere*.

The War being thus resolved, almost all the Princes of Greece engaged themselves in it by Oath (a), and were heartily disposed to furnish each the Quota of Ships that was agreed to. The Armament was so considerable, that *Homer* makes the Number of Ships amount to 1070, others to 1200, and *Virgil* by a round Reckoning, to a thousand, *mille carinae*; which is to be understood of Ships such as were used in that Time, flat bottoms, which with the Ship's Crew and Provisions, carried but few Soldiers. *Homer* has employed the second Book of the *Iliad*, in the exact Enumeration of the Grecian Princes who embarked for this War, and in the Catalogue of the Ships that each brought thither. *Agamemnon* who was unanimously declared the Generalissimo of the Army, was at the same Time King of *Mycenæ*, *Sicyon*, *Corinth*, and several other Towns. He had fitted out so many Ships, that he lent a Part of them to the *Arcadians*, under the Conduct of *Agapenor*: *Menelaus* his Brother conducted the *Spartans*; *Nestor* the *Messenians*: *Polixenus* and *Ampibimachus*, the *Eleans*: *Diomedes* the Son of *Tydeus*, *Steneleus* the Son of *Capaneus*, and *Euryalus*, were the Leaders of the *Argives*: *Mneſtheus* commanded the *Athenians*: *Ajax* the Son of *Telamon*, the *Megarians* and Inhabitants of *Salamis*: *Schedius* and *Epistrophus*, the *Phocians*. *Thoas* with the *Etolians* *Megeſ* with the *Dulichians*, *Ulyſſes* with the *Ithacians* and *Cephalonians*, had considerable Places in this Army: The *Beotians* had five Captains to command them, among whom was *Thersander*. The Inhabitants of *Iolchos* and *Pheres* had for their Leader *Eumelus* the Son of *Admetus* and *Alceſtes*; those of *Ithime* and *Oecalia*, *Podalyrius* and *Marchaon* the Sons of *Æſculapius*; the *Mineans* who dwelt at *Orchomenos*, were under the Conduct of *Aſcalapbus* and *Ialmenus* his Brother. *Ajax* the Son of *Oileus* conducted the *Locrians*; and *Elephenor*, the *Eubeans*. The *Theſſalians* obeyed ten Generals, among whom *Achilles* with his *Mirmidons*, *Proteſilaus* and *Philoctetes* were the moſt famous. *Idomeneus* and *Merion* the Sons of *Deucalion*,

(a) *Jurabant omnes in laſi verba mariti.**Ovid.*

Demalion, and Grandsons of *Minas II.* commanded the *Cretans*. *Tlepolamus* the Son of *Hercules*, the Inhabitants of *Rhodes*; lastly, *Phidippus* and *Antipus*, those of *Cos*, and the other neighbouring Islands.

The Number of Soldiers under the Command of these Captains, according to *Thucydides*, amounted to 75000 or thereabouts. This fine Army being assembled in the Port of *Aulis*, wanted nothing but a fair Wind to carry them over the *Hellepont*; but the Wind was denied them for the Reason I am going to relate. *Calchas*, upon I know not what Foundation, had foretold, as we read in *Homer* (1), and *Ovid* (2), that they were to be ten Years before *Troy*; and in Confirmation of this Prediction, he gave it out to the Army that he had seen a Serpent climb a Tree, which after devouring ten little Birds that were in a Nest, had also destroyed the Mother; which Omen according to him, signified that they were not to be Masters of the City, till after a ten Years Siege; he added that the Serpent had been transformed into a Stone; a Fable invented by that high Priest to support a Prediction, perhaps dictated by some of the Princes of the Army, who dissatisfied with going to the War themselves, had a Mind to divert others from so hazardous an Enterprize.

Eschiles, in his Tragedy of *Agamemnon*, instead of the Prodigy now related, puts another in the Mouth of the old Men who open the Scene. Two Eagles, say they, sent by Jupiter, were seen to fall upon a pregnant Coney, and forthwith to devour the Mother and the young, *Calchas* upon seeing the King of the Birds, without Hesitation interpreted it of the Leaders of the Army, and pronounced the Oracle which begins thus: *Priam's City shall fall under the Strokes that threaten it, &c.*

But there fell out in the same Place, another Adventure of much greater Importance. An obstinate Calm detaining the Army too long in *Aulis*, *Calchas* gave the *Greeks* to know that *Diana* incensed against *Agamemnon* for having killed a Deer that was consecrated

(1) *Iliad*. l. 2, (2) *Met.* l. 12.

crated to her, withheld from them a favourable Wind, and that she could not be appeased but by the Blood of a Princess of his Family (1). *Agamemnon* after having hesitated a long Time, gave up his Daughter to the Solicitations of the confederate Princes. *Ulysses* offered to go and fetch her, under some specious Pretext, from the Embraces of her Mother. All things were disposed in order for the Sacrifice; but *Diana* appeased by this Act of Submission, substituted in the Place of *Ipbigenia*, this was the Name of *Agamemnon's* Daughter, a Deer which was sacrificed to her, and she transported the Princess to *Tauris* there to serve her for a Priestess. Some ancient Mythologists tell us, that she was transformed into a Bear: *Nicander* will have it that she was turned into a Heifer, others into an old Woman; such Variety is to be found in these ancient Histories. *Homer* speaks not a Word of this Adventure; on the contrary, about the End of the Siege of *Troy*, he makes mention of *Ipbianaassa* the Daughter of *Agamemnon*, who is offered in Marriage to *Achilles* in order to appease his Wrath: Now no body doubts but this *Ipbianaassa* is the same with *Ipbigenia*.

Several Authors, 'tis true, have considered the Fact now related as a mere Fiction, and could not conceive that a Father would be so barbarous as to sacrifice his own Daughter. Some of them are of Opinion that this Adventure carries an Allusion to the Story of *Jephthé*, which happened about that Time, whose Daughter, according to them, had the same Name which *Homer* gives to the Daughter of *Agamemnon* (2). Others again assert that *Ipbigenia* was actually sacrificed to the Superstition of the Soldiers (a), and to the Policy of a Prince who was afraid of losing the Command of a fine Army. Lastly, as a Key to this Fable (b), another *Ipbigenia* has been found in the Family of *Agamemnon*, whom *Helen* ravished

(1) Virg. l. 2. Ovid. Met. l. 12. (2) Huetius Demonst. Evang. p. 4.

(a) This is not the first Time that Superstition was the Source of such Sacrifices.

(b) See *Racine* in his Preface to the Tragedy of *Ipbigenia*, after *Euripides*.

ravished by *Theseus*, had brought forth, and who had been sent to *Chytemnestra* already married, who took Care of her, and would have her pass for her own Daughter. For my part, I am of Opinion, that *Agamemnon* threatened with the Wrath of *Diana*, resolved actually to sacrifice his Daughter (*a*); that *Ulysses* went and tore her from the Arms of her Mother; that Preparation was made for sacrificing her to *Diana* incensed; but that the Soldiers having opposed it, as well as some of the Officers, *Calchas* apprehensive of an Insurrection, insinuated that *Diana* might be appeased by the Sacrifice of a Deer, and by the Consecration of *Iphigenia*, who was actually sent to *Tauris* to serve her in quality of Priestess (*b*). Were we to give credit to *Dicæys* of *Crete* (1), we might say that *Ulysses* set out from the Army without consulting *Agamemnon*; that he forged Letters from that Prince, informing *Chytemnestra* that *Achilles* would not quit *Aulis*, till he had first married *Iphigenia*; and that having secretly conveyed her into the Camp, he with *Calchas* was going to Sacrifice her to the Goddess, when terrified by some Prodigies, or rather by the Menaces of *Achilles* who discovered the Mystery, she was sent to *Tauris*, and a Deer was offered in Sacrifice, which had been driven by the Storm to shelter itself near the Altar of the Goddess.

Pausanias (2) explaining the fine Pictures of *Polygnotus*, which were in the Poet *Lefcheus*, says, *Menelaus* was there represented with a Buckler, on which was painted the Serpent that appeared during the Sacrifice, which we have been speaking of. I have seen this Piece of History no where else, which the Painter had learned from *Lefcheus*'s Poem upon the taking of *Troy*. The *Greeks* perhaps had propagated this Prodigy, and *Menelaus* adopted it, by making this Monster be engraved upon his Buckler.

To conclude, these Preparations, and the several Hindrances that intervened, took up ten Years before the

(a) See below the History of *Agamemnon*.

(b) See the History of *Agamemnon*.

(1) L. 1. (2) *Id* Phoc.

the *Greeks* embarked, and consequently lasted : as the Siege itself ; accordingly, *Homer* makes say, in the tenth Year of the Siege, that she had been Twenty Years in that City,

C H A P. IV.

The History of the Siege of TROY.

THE *Greeks*, at length, having the Wind favorable, embarked, and arrived happily at the montory of *Sigæum*. As they had been long in Preparation for this grand Expedition, the *Trojans* on their Side had full Leisure to put themselves in a Condition for giving them a warm Reception. *Priam* had all Means to procure Allies, and auxiliary Troops, and he succeeded so well, that all the neighboring Princes had either come to him in Person, or sent Supplies. *Lycaon* conducted thither the Inhabitants of *Zelea*, upon Mount *Ida*, *Adrastus* and *Amphius* of *Adrastia*, *Apefa*, *Pytice* and *Teria* : Those of *Percote*, *Praxion* and *Abydos* were under the Command of *Afius* the Son of *Hirtacus*. *Hippothoon* and *Pileus* were the Leaders of the *Pelasgians* of *Lacedæmon*, *Acamas* and *Pirous* of the *Thracians* of the *Hell*. The *Ciconians* marched under the Conduct of *Idon* ; the *Papblagonians* under that of *Pylemenes*, the *Mysians* under that of *Cbromis*. *Phorcis* and *Antenor* led the *Phrygians*. *Rhesus* conducted thither the *Thracians*, his Subjects, and *Memnon* the *Persians* and *Æthiopians*, whom *Teutamus* had put under his Command. The *Amazons* invited to the Defence of that City came thither with their Queen at their Head ; *Eneas* commanded the *Dardans* with *Archilochus*, *Alcathous* the Son of *Antenor* ; not to insist on *Sarpedon* with his *Lycians*, or *Ebeus*, *Chorebus*, *Elpenor* and some others, who arrived not till towards the End of the Siege.

The *Trojans*, therefore, finding themselves in a Condition to receive their Enemies, exerted their

IV. *explained by HISTORY.* 221

to prevent their landing, and there ensued a Engagement, where the Leaders on both Sides distinguished themselves. *Protesilaus* seeing *Perseus* averse to quit their Ships, because the Oracle foretold, that the first who set his Foot a was to be slain, sacrificed his Life to the Preference of his Country; and *Cygnus*, on the Side of the Greeks, died there, after having performed such brave Actions, as gave Occasion to say, that *Neptune* had him invulnerable (1). Besides, *Cygnus* was given to be the Son of that God, because, probably, he was a powerful Prince by Sea. His Transformation into a Fowl, is a mere Fiction, invented to support the Fable (a).

The first Battle was followed with a long Respite, as *Virgil* says in his Harangue for the Armour of *Achilles* (2); both Sides laid down their Arms (b); the Greeks minded nothing but the forming of their Trenches, and securing themselves by good Entrenchments; and the Besieged, on the contrary, the defended themselves. The great Care on both Sides, was not being surprized, and while the *Greeks* were busy to guard their Trenches, the *Trojans* were as busy in watching the Gates of their City (c).

The Besiegers even employed the first nine Years in making themselves Masters of several neighbouring Towns that had taken up Arms in Defence of themselves, and this is what made the Siege last so long, as *Virgil* remarks; the Troops being obliged to separate in Order to find themselves Victuals, for which they had not made any Provision: Thus they who were in the Town, were capable to hold out against the *Militants*; for had the City *Troy* been attacked by all

Ovid. Met. l. 12.

the what has been said of the different Persons that went by the name of *Cygnus*, in the History of *Phaeton*, first Book, Volume I.

l. l. 12.

*labor, hæc requiem multorum pugna dierum,
hæc; Et positis pars utraque substitit armis.
neque Vigil Phrygiæ servat custodia muros,
Vigil Argolicæ servat custodia fossas.*

Ovid. ib.

Id. ib.

all the Forces which the *Greeks* had brought, doubtless it had not been able to stand out so long, according to the Author now quoted, who says the *Greeks* had taken so little Precaution for Provisions, and other Stores, that they were obliged to employ some of their Men to labour the Ground they were come to conquer.

Lyrcnessus, the Country of *Briseis*, *Pedafus*, *Zelea*, *Alraslea*, *Pythia*, *Percote*, *Arisbè*, *Abydos*, *Chryse*, and *Cilla*, were the Conquests of *Achilles*; and *Strabo* remarks, that it was only the Tedioufness of the Siege made him attempt those Conquests. *Ajax*, on his Side, ravaged *Thrace*, and others subdued the Kingdom of *Cygnus*, and obliged the conquered People to supply the Army with Grain. These Captains carried the Plunder to the Camp, which was formed upon the Sea-shore, and there it was divided. The *Greeks*, to fortify themselves, had laid up their Ships, and entrenched themselves behind a good Wall. For 'tis proper to remark that this Camp continued always in the same Place, that is, near the Promontory of *Sigeum*, whence *Agamemnon*, and some other of the Leaders, never stirred. This was even a Ground of Reproach against him, from *Achilles*, when he tells the Deputies from *Agamemnon*, who presented him with the Gifts from that General, to appease him, that he had always been busy in carrying the Booty and Spoils of the Enemy into the Camp, while *Agamemnon* remained secure in his Tent, dividing the Spoil, whereof he was sure to reserve the best Part for himself. This was the general Rendezvous, whence they set out to make Excursions; for, during the first nine Years, the *Greeks* were much more solicitous to weaken the Allies of the *Trojans*, than to carry on the Siege vigorously. There happened, however, several particular Actions during that Interval, but nothing passed that was very signal or remarkable; *nec aperti*, says *Ovid*, *Copia martis*. Ambuscades were laid for one another; sometimes the Flocks carried off, as they were feeding in the Plain; some Peasants made Prisoners of War, as they were cultivating the Fields, and there

there sold in the adjacent Countries; and it was not 'till the tenth Year that the Siege began to be carried on with Vigour.

Decimo tantum pugnavimus Anno (1)

Tho' *Homer* begins his *Iliad* with the Events that happened during this tenth Year, that is, with the Wrath of *Achilles*, yet he has artfully introduced, either by Speeches, or other Allusions, a Part of what was transacted during the former nine Years; and 'tis easy to see, that tho' the City was not much straitened, since, for want of a Line of Circumvallation, the Side towards Mount *Ida*, was quite open, yet there was Action on both Sides, tho' with less Vigour than towards the End of the Siege. That Poet, in the third Book of the *Iliad*, represents *Helen* embroidering a rich Stuff, where, says he, she had drawn all the Battles that were fought for her under the Walls of *Ilium*. That Passage plainly refers to Battles antecedent to the Anger of *Achilles*, who did not retire to his Tent 'till the tenth Year. In the sixth Book, *Andromache* tells *Hector*, that *Ajax*, and the two Sons of *Atræus*, had attempted thrice to surprize the City, when it was weak, but without Success. "While I fought, says *Achilles*, speaking of the first Years of the Siege (2), fierce *Hector* never durst leave the Walls of the City; hardly did he dare to quit the *Scæan* Gate, and advance to the Oak Tree;" which both proves that *Achilles* was not always engaged in subduing the Allies of the *Trojans*, and that he had often fought before the Commencement of his Anger. *Eneas*, in like manner, tells *Lycaon* (3), who was for his making Head against *Achilles*, after his Reconciliation with *Agamemnon*: "Why will you force me to go against the Son of *Peleus*? I am not now to learn his Valour: I fought with him formerly, when he attacked our Flocks upon Mount *Ida*, when the Goddess *Minerva* gave him a signal Victory over the *Trojans*." The Poet makes

Achilles

(1) *Id. ibid.*

(2) *Il. l. 9.*

(3) *Il. l. 20.*

Achilles say (1), that he had once made *Lycaon*, the Son of *Priam* Prisoner, having surprized him in one of his Father's Orchards, where he was pruning a wild Fig-Tree, and that he had sent him Captive into the Island of *Lemnos*. *Hecuba* complains of the Cruelty of the same *Achilles*, who, on various Occasions, had made several other of her Sons Prisoners, and sent them to *Samos*, *Imbros*, and other Countries.

The Wall which surrounded the *Grecian* Camp, was probably not raised till about the last Year, and while *Achilles* was taken up in reducing the Allies of the *Trojans*, since he rallies *Agamemnon* upon that Account, telling him, that while he was in the Camp, there was no Occasion for seeking Shelter from the Attacks of the Enemy.

Ovid, in the Harangue which I have already quoted, represents *Ulysses* employing all the Care of an Intendant-General of the Army, going in quest of Provisions; conducting them to the Camp, giving Orders for raising the Trenches, and especially encouraging the Soldiers, disheartened with the Tedioufness of the Siege. After these Particulars, it would be needless to quote *Dares* of *Phrygia*, who has left us a Journal of all that happened during the ten Years of the Siege; mentioning the Sallies, the particular Battles, Truces, Embassies, Negotiations, and the Ambuscades that were laid on either Side; nor *Diftys* of *Crete*, who, however, deserves more Credit than *Dares*, and is very full and particular upon this Subject, informing us what Means the *Greeks* had used to procure Provisions, and Arms to fortify their Trenches; their applying themselves, especially during the Winter, to several Games, that served to keep the Troops in Exercise, as well as divert their Anxiety.

It was also during this Siege, that *Palamedes*, whom *Ulysses* had not yet sacrificed to his Jealousy, invented the Game of Dice, which was of Use, both to amuse the Officer and the Soldier.

'Tis

'Tis not strange that a City, whose Walls are said to have been built by the Gods, which, setting aside the marvellous, proves at least their Strength and Sufficiency, resisted so long such feeble Attacks, and Forces often dissipated. The Siege of *Veii*, and some others, are a Proof of the long Resistance a City may make, when ill attack'd, and which is not cut off by a good Circumvallation from all Succour. But to all these Reasons we must add, that Superstition, which had so great a Share in all the Enterprizes of those Times, was the principal Cause of the Length of the Siege, since it was believed that *Troy* could not be taken till after the Accomplishment of its Destiny.

CHAP. V.

The Fatalities annexed to Troy.

THAT the Opinion which made the Ruin of this City depend upon certain Fatalities, had no other Foundation but some obscure Oracles little understood, is out of the Question. 'Tis certain that this Tradition was universally disseminated thro' both Armies, and consequently must have animated the *Trojans*, and disheartened the *Greeks*, till they were at length accomplished. The Pains they took to find out *Philoctetes* at *Lemnos*, and *Pyrrhus* at *Scyros*; the Hazards they run, in order to carry off the *Palladium*, and to hinder the *Horses of Rhesus* from drinking of the River *Xanthus*, prove how zealously they were attached to those Fatalities. Let it not be said, that all these Things fell out in the Tenth Year; for this is a direct Confirmation that the *Greeks* thought it not possible to take the City till then; and that seeing then all the Destinies accomplished, they drew together their whole Troops, to push the Siege more vigorously.

The first of these Fatalities was, that the City could not be taken without the Descendants of *Eacus*. The Foundation whereof was, that *Apollo* and *Neptune* being employed in building the Walls of *Troy* (a), had

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applied.

(a) See *Pindar's* Scholiast upon the Eighth Olympic.

applied to that Prince for his Assistance, that so the Work of a Mortal being joined with that of Gods, the City, which had otherwise been impregnable, might be capable of being one Day taken, if the Gods thought fit; this is what made the *Greeks*, who knew this Circumstance, employ the artful *Ulysses* to force *Achilles*, the Grandson of *Eacus*, from the Arms of *Deidamia*, the Daughter of *Lycomides* King of *Scyros*, with whom his Mother had concealed him; and after his Death to send for his Son *Pyrrhus*, tho' he was then but very young; tho' perhaps it is true at bottom that *Calchas*, gained by the other Leaders of the Army, had contrived this Fatality to draw *Achilles* and his Troops to the Siege of *Troy*.

It was necessary, in the second Place, to have *Hercules's* Arrows, which were in the Hands of *Philoctetes*, whom the *Greeks* had basely abandoned in the Isle of *Lemnos*, upon Account of an Ulcer he had contracted from the Bite of a Serpent, when he was searching at *Cbrysa* for an Altar of *Apollo*, where *Hercules* had formerly sacrificed, and where the *Greeks*, according to the Oracle, were of necessity to sacrifice before the City could be taken; or by a Wound he had received from one of *Hercules's* Arrows, which he let fall upon his Foot; these Arrows, dyed in the Blood of the *Hydra*, which was a venomous Serpent, had been poisoned thereby. The Necessity they thought there was for these Arrows, obliged the *Greeks* to depute *Ulysses* to go in quest of *Philoctetes*, tho' he was mortally hated by him, for being one of those who advised to leave him in that Island. That sly Captain however succeeded in his Enterprize, and brought him to the Siege.

'Tis this Voyage of *Ulysses* and his Success in it, that makes the Subject of *Euripides's* Tragedy called *Philoctetes*, one of the finest in Antiquity, and which proves at the same Time that without either Episode or Love Story one may succeed in Tragedy; and that it is not commonly owing to the Barrenness of the Subject, for this of his is one of the most simple, that Authors have recourse to that Complication of Incidents, which spoils almost all theatrical Performances.

The third and most important Fatality was to carry off the *Palladium* (a), which the *Trojans* carefully kept in the Temple of *Minerva*. This *Palladium* was a Statue of that Goddess, three Cubits high; holding a Pike in the right Hand, a Distaff and a Spindle in the left. The Ancients speak of this Statue in so loose a manner, that we know not well what to fix upon. Some say (b) *Jupiter* made it fall from Heaven near *Priam's* Tent, when he was building the Citadel of *Ilium*. *Herodotus* asserts that it fell at *Pessinus* a City of *Phrygia*; others will have it that *Electra* the Mother of *Menelaus* gave it to that Prince. There are who alledge that it was the Astronomer *Asius* made a Present of it to *Tros*, as a Talisman whereon the Preservation of the City depended; or that *Dardanus* received it from *Chryse*, who was reputed the Daughter of *Pallas*. *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* (1), who agrees in Opinion with those who make it a Present sent from Heaven; adds that *Eneas* seized upon it, carried it into *Italy* with his household Gods, and that the *Greeks* had got only a Copy of it, made after the Similitude of the Original.

Lastly, *Arnobius* (2), *St. Clemens of Alexandria* (3), and *Julius Firmicus* (4), contend that the *Palladium* had been made of *Pelops's* Bones, and that by one of the Fatalities of *Troy*, it was necessary to have the Bones of that Heroe. *Apollodorus* (5) had said long before that his Statue of *Minerva* was a Piece of Clock-work that moved of itself.

Whatever be in these various Opinions, the *Greeks* looking upon this Statue as an Obstacle to the taking of *Troy*, so long as it was in that City; contrived how to carry it off. *Ulysses* and *Diomedes* having entered the Citadel by Night, either by Surprise, or by Means of

Q 2

secret

(a) *Omnis spes Danaum ceptique fiducia belli
Palladis auxilio semper stetit.* Virg. l. 2.

(b) See *Ryckius's* Hist. of the Colonies settled in *Italy*, pag. 464.

(1) *Antiq. Rom.* l. 2. (2) *Advers. Gent.* l. 4. (3) *Strom.* l. 6.

(4) *De error Prof. Rel.* c. 16. (5) *L.* 3.

secret Intelligence (a), stole away that valuable Pledge of the Security of the Trojans, and conveyed it into their Camp; but hardly were they arrived when the Goddess gave Testimonies of her Wrath. To which Purpose *Virgil* makes *Sinon* say (b):

*Scarce to the Camp the sacred Image came,
When from her Eyes she flash'd a living Flame;
A briny Sweat bedew'd her Limbs around,
And thrice she sprung indignant from the Ground;
Thrice was she seen with martial Rage to wield
Her pond'rous Spear, and shake her blazing Shield.*

Pitt's *Æn.* 2. 228.

Conon (1) will have it that *Diomede* alone carried off the Statue, and that when he was arrived at the Foot of the Trojan Walls, he got upon *Ulysses's* Shoulders, and clambering up to the Top of the Rampart, left there *Ulysses*, who expected he would have lent him his Assistance to get up; and having entered the Citadel, was so happy as to find the *Palladium*, carried it off, and came back to *Ulysses*, who provoked at this Procedure, kept behind him, and drawing his Sword was going to run him through, when *Diomede* struck with the glittering of the Sword, turned about, parry'd off the Thrust, and obliged *Ulysses* to go before him: Hence the Proverb so known to the Greeks, *Diomedes's Law*, which is applicable to those who are forced to any thing cross to their Inclination.

In

(a) Some Authors tell us, that *Helenus* the Son of *Priam*, incensed against his Brother *Deiphobus* for marrying *Helen*, with whom he was in love, after the Death of *Paris*, having gone out of the City, shewed the Greeks the Place where the *Palladium* was kept; and that he had let them know it was the least of all the Statues that were about it; for several had been made like to it, but of different Sizes, to hinder its being known. See *Cam. Nar.* 34.

(b) *Vix positum Castris simulacrum, arserè coruscæ
Luminibus flammæ arrectis, salusque per arvas
Sudor sit: terque ipsa solo, mirabile dictu,
Emituit, parmanque ferens, hostemque tremendam.*

Æa. l. 1.

(1) *Nar.* 14.

In the fourth, it was necessary to hinder the Horses of *Rhesus* King of *Thrace* from drinking of the *Xanthus* (a), or eating the Grass of the Plains of *Troy*. That Prince who came in the tenth Year to the Relief of the *Trojans*, not knowing this Fatality, arrived by Night and encamped near the City; but *Dolon*, whom *Nestor* sent to him, having been taken by *Ulysses* and *Diomedes*, to save himself from impending Death, informed them of *Rhesus's* Arrival, and of the Place where he was encamped. Thus those two Captains went and surprized that Prince, whom they found asleep, slew himself, and carried away his Horses. We may very reasonably suppose that *Ulysses* himself spread the report of this Fatality, to determine the *Greeks* effectually to hinder *Rhesus* from relieving the City. *Homer*, who speaks of *Rhesus's* Death (1), says not one Word of this Fatality, and does not so much as intimate that he was slain the first Night that he arrived at *Troy*; he only says that *Dolon* informed *Ulysses* and *Diomedes* of the Place where he was encamped, adding that he was but lately arrived (b).

Euripides, in his Tragedy of *Rhesus*, follows the common Opinion, and makes him to be assassinated by *Ulysses* and *Diomedes* the same Night that he arrived in the *Grecian* Camp. *Ovid*, in the Letter from *Penelope* to *Ulysses*, relates this Fact in a manner which fully expresses the Tenderness of that Princess for her Spouse. *Telemachus*, says she, has learned from *Nestor*, and I from the dear Boy, the Story of *Dolon* and *Rhesus* sacrificed by your Hands, and how the one fell a Victim to Sleep, and the other to Surprize. Why, *Ulysses*, have you then lost the Remembrance of your

Q 3

“ *Penelope*,

(a) *Ardentesque arvertis equos in castra, priusquam
Pabula gustassent Trojae Xanthumque bibissent.*

Æn. l. 1. v. 476.

(1) *Iliad.* l. 10.

(2) *Diogenes*, l. 2. says that *Rhesus* having arrived too late to enter the City, had pitched his Tent pretty near the *Grecian* Camp, and that *Ulysses* and *Diomedes*, who were apprized of this, went thither by Night, and having found the Centinels asleep, slew them, and carried off his Horses and Chariots.

“ *Penelope*, so far as to venture by Night into the
 “ *Tbracian* Camp, and expose yourself to so many Ene-
 “ mies, with no other Assistance but that of *Diomedes*?
 “ No sure; the Thoughts of your Spouse must un-
 “ doubtedly have made you take proper Measures for
 “ your Security. Yet how was I seized with Tremb-
 “ ling and Affrightment, from which I never recovered,
 “ till the Relation of this Adventure was closed with
 “ an Assurance of your Return into the *Grecian* Camp,
 “ where you arrived upon the Horses of him whose
 “ Life you had taken away.”

In the fifth Place, another thing necessary to the
 taking of the City, was to put to Death *Troilus* the
 Son of *Priam*, and to destroy the Tomb of *Laomedon*,
 which stood upon the *Scæan* Gate. *Achilles* slew that
 young Prince; and the *Trojans* themselves demolished
Laomedon's Tomb, when they made a Breach in the
 Walls, in order to introduce the wooden Horse into the
 City.

Lastly, *Troy* could not be taken unless the *Greeks*
 had in their Army *Telephus* the Son of *Hercules* and
Augé; but it was no easy Matter to get him. He op-
 posed the Passage of the *Greeks*, as being in Alliance
 with the *Trojans*, and had married *Laodice*, or, accord-
 ing to *Diclys* of *Crete*, *Astioché*, *Priam's* Daughter. The
Greeks seeing him engaged with their Enemies, had
 even made War upon him, and given him Battle,
 wherein he was wounded by *Achilles*. His Wound
 proving incurable, the Oracle whom he had consulted,
 answered that he could not be cured but by the Hand
 that had inflicted the Wound. As there was no Pro-
 bability that his mortal Enemy would do him that
 Service, *Chytemnestra* advised him to carry off her Son
Orestes, to oblige *Agamemnon* to make *Achilles* consent
 to the curing of him; but that Heroe being inexorable,
Ulysses interpreted the Oracle to mean that the same
 Arrow which had done the Mischief, was to serve for
 the Remedy; thus having taken some Rust from the
 Head of the Arrow, and made up a Plaister of it, he

to *Telephus*, who was very soon cured thereby, and sent into the *Grecian* Army.

Now that I am upon this *Telephus*, his History as told by *Hyginus*, is very singular. *Augé* his Mother, to conceal her Intrigue with *Hercules*, had exposed her Son soon after his Birth, and a Doe is said to have suckled him, because perhaps the Shepherds who found him, saw a Doe near him. That Princess, to appease the Anger of her Father who had discovered her Secret, repaired to the Court of *Teutbras* King of *Myfia*, who having no Children, adopted her for his Daughter. Some time after, *Idas* the Son of *Aphareus*, attempted to dethrone *Teutbras*; but *Telephus*, who was brought up, and was come to the Court of *Myfia*, by the Command of the Oracle, in quest of his Parents, accepted of the Offer made him by *Teutbras* to give him his Sister *Augé* and his Crown to the Person who would deliver him from his Enemy; and putting himself at the head of the *Myfians*, gave him Battle and slew him. *Telephus*, to accomplish his Promise, celebrated the Marriage of that young Heroe with *Augé*; but as *Augé*, from I know not what Foresight, was determined to kill him on the Marriage-Night, the Gods sent a Dragon to separate them. Then *Augé* having obtained *Hercules's* Assistance, *Telephus* discovered the Place of his Birth, and carried back his Mother into her own Country. This whole Narration, doubtless, was only to veil that Discovery, which hindered the Marriage from being consummated; and this is the true End of the Fable.

As we were executed all the Fatalities of *Troy*, and *Troy* stood out till all its Destinies were fully accomplished. 'Tis proper however to remark that *Ovid* makes no mention of these Fatalities, which we find in *Ovid*, *Lycophron*, and some other Ancients, and presently we may presume that the History of them was not invented till after him. Had it been known in *Ovid's* Time, no doubt he would have taken Notice of it in the frequent Speeches of the Generals, or in *Odyssey*, wherein he resumes several Particulars.

ties concerning the Siege, and the taking of that City. He only says in one Place of the *Iliad*, that the Fate of *Troy* depended upon *Hector*, and that this City would defend itself so long as he was in Life; which being also known to the *Trojans*, obliged them, according to that Poet, to use their Endeavours to keep him from going out to attack the Enemy.

C H A P. VI.

Of the last Year of the Siege, and of the Destruction of the City.

TO proceed, it was not properly till the tenth Year of the Siege that they began to attack the City in earnest with all their united Forces. Those who had been detached the preceding Years to reduce the Allies of *Troy*, and oftener to carry off their Cattle and Grain, to supply the Camp with Provisions, were returned; but an Incident happened which was like to have ruined all, and retarded for some Time the taking of the City. It will easily be understood that I mean the Anger of *Achilles*, to which we owe the finest Poem that ever was composed.

In the Division of the Spoils which had been brought into the Camp, *Agamemnon* had for himself the fair *Chryseis*, otherwise called *Astione*. Her Father, who was High-Priest of *Apollo*, having come into the *Grecian* Camp to re-demand her; instead of the Justice he expected, was ill received there. In the mean Time the Plague began to waste the *Grecian* Army. *Calchas* was consulted that they might know from him the Means of putting a Stop to it; but he gave them no other Answer, but that *Apollo*, incensed for the Injury done to his Priest, had inflicted that Calamity upon them, which would never cease till they had appeased him, and returned *Chryseis* to her Father.

Whether this Answer was put into *Calchas*'s Mouth by *Agamemnon*'s Enemies, or was the pure Result of Equity, all the Leaders of the Army obtested that Prince to give up the Slave. *Achilles* raised his Voice higher.

higher than the rest ; and *Agamemnon*, who either could not or would not longer resist the Solicitations of the whole Army, delivered up *Cbryseis* to her Father, and gave him considerable Presents ; but to be avenged of *Achilles*, he sent at the same Time to his Tent and carried away *Briseis* ; which so provoked that young Prince, who was passionately in love with her, that he resolved to draw his Sword no more in the common Cause, but confined himself to his Tent for the Space of near a Year ; for this Quarrel, to which we owe the *Iliad* to *Homer*, happened at the Beginning of the tenth Year, or in the middle of the ninth.

During this Retreat of *Achilles*, *Hector* frequently set fire to the Enemy's Ships : *Eneas*, *Deiphobus*, *Memnon* and several others on the side of the *Trojans*, imitated the Valour of *Hector*. *Diomedes*, *Ajax*, *Menelaus*, *Agamemnon*, and Numbers of others on the side of the *Greeks*, distinguished themselves by their Valour. *Patroclus*, indignant at the Advantages which the *Trojans* had over the *Greeks* in the several Battles that were fought every Day, and finding *Achilles* still inexorable, demanded from him his Armour, which he granted him. The *Trojans* seeing his Arms, at first believed it to be *Achilles* himself, and turned their Backs ; but the brave *Hector* with undaunted Courage attacked him who thus offered himself, believing, like the rest, that it was *Achilles*, killed him, and carried his Spoils into *Troy*.

Then *Achilles*, forgetting his Resentment, sprung from his Tent like a young Lion, and carried Slaughter into the Army of the *Trojans*. In vain till then had several Attempts been made to appease him : Deputations, Presents, pathetic and moving Speeches, reiterated Promises to give him back his dear *Briseis* ; all these had availed nothing to mitigate him, he remained inflexible : The Death alone of his Friend *Patroclus* was capable to make him drop his Resentment, and obliged him to quit his Tent, where he had confined himself till then. No sooner does he appear, than the Face of Things is altered : The *Greeks* resume their
Courage.

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Courage, the *Trojans* are repulsed and fly on all sides, and he spreads Havock, Death and Terror over all. At length, after signalizing himself by a thousand valiant Exploits, which his Panegyrist has rendered immortal, he kills *Heſtor*, the only Bulwark of *Troy*, and who had ſaved it ſo long from Deſtruction. 'Tis true, by a Barbarity which favours of the groſs Manners of that Age, he faſtened to his Chariot the dead Body of his Enemy, and baſely dragg'd him ſeveral times round the Walls of the Town. He carried his Cruelty in celebrating the Funerals of his Friend ſo far, as to ſacrifice to his Manes twelve young *Trojans* whom he had taken on different Occaſions. However, his Cruelty being at length glutted, he delivered up *Heſtor's* Body to *Priam*, who came into his Tent in the Air of a Suppliant, and aſked it of him, or rather redeemed it by rich Preſents.

The *Iliac* Table, which I have mentioned, has preſerved to us the Memory of all theſe Actions of the tenth Year. We ſee in N^o. 13. (a) the Priest *Cbryſes* by a ſolemn Sacrifice invoking *Apollo* againſt the *Greeks*. The Ravages of the Plague, and the Methods taken by the *Greeks* to put a Stop to it N^o. 14 and 15; and in the following Number is to be ſeen *Ulyſſes* giving back *Cbryſeis* to her Father. Here *Neptune* (1) is animating *Ajax* to the Battle: There (2) *Idomeneus*, after having ſlain *Othryoneus*, purſues *Aſius*, who had fled. *Eneas* is repreſented killing *Aphareus* (3). *Ajax* is giving *Archilochus* the mortal Wound (4). *Apollo* on one of theſe Marbles is animating *Heſtor* to the Fight (5). In another Place, the ſame *Heſtor* is fighting at the *Grecian* Ships, and ſetting fire to them (6), *Patroclus* is there repreſented at the Time he puts on *Achilles's* Armour (7); *Merion* killing *Achamas* (8); *Heſtor* purſuing *Antemedon*, *Achilles's* Charioteer (9); as alſo the Battle between the *Greeks* and *Trojans* for the
Body

(a) Theſe Numbers are conform to thoſe which *Beyer* has inſerted in his Work, intituled *Bellum & excidium Trojanum*.

(1) No. 18. (2) No. 19. (3) No. 20. (4) No. 21.
(5) No. 22. (6) No. 24. (7) No. 25. (8) No. 26. (9) No. 27.

Chap. VI. explained by HISTORY: 239

Body of *Patroclus* (1), which is at length carried off by the *Greeks* into their Camp (2), where great Mourning is solemnized (3). In N^o. 31, 32, and 33, we see *Thetis* addressing *Vulcan* to make Armour for her Son *Achilles*, and that young Heroe putting it on, and returning to the Battle. In N^o. 34, is *Neptune* saving *Eneas* from a dangerous Combat; and in N^o. 35, *Achilles* killing *Ipbition*, *Deumoleon*, and *Hippodamas*. In N^o. 36, is *Apollo* rescuing *Hector* from impending Death. In N^o. 37, *Neptune* fortifying *Achilles* against the Swellings of the *Scamander*, whose Channel was choaked up with dead Bodies. In N^o. 38, the *Trojans* fly at seeing *Achilles* quit his Tent. The Death of *Hector* is represented in N^o. 40. And the Insults offered to his dead Body, N^o. 41. The Funeral Games in Honour of *Patroclus* in N^o. 42. and 43. *Priam's* Visit to *Achilles*, in his Tent, in N^o. 44. *Achilles* slaying the Amazon *Penthesilea*, in N^o. 46. In the following one is *Iberfites*; in the 48th is represented *Achilles's* Combat with *Memnon*. In the 49. we see *Ajax* and *Ulysses* exerting themselves to revenge the Death of *Achilles* slain by *Paris*; and his Funerals are represented in N^o. 50.

At length, after so many Battles and various Adventures, which *Homer* fully relates, the *Greeks* made themselves Masters of the City, and put it to Fire and Sword. There are two Opinions about the Manner in which this famous City was taken. The first is, that it was betrayed to the Enemy by the Treachery of *Antenor* and *Eneas*. The latter, tho' *Priam's* Son-in-law, was neglected by him (4); and the former had received several Grounds of Discontent. This Opinion has many Presumptions to support it; but chiefly, that it would have been impossible for those two *Trojan* Captains to have quietly equipped two Ships, and set out for *Italy*, under the Eyes of the *Greeks*, who were Masters of the Country after taking the City, had it not been for some Intelligence they had with them. Accordingly *Distys* of

(1) N^o 28.

(2) N^o 29.

(3) N^o 30.

(4) *Iliad* l. 12.

of *Crete* says (1) expressly, that Guards were set upon the Houses of these two Traitors, that they should not be pillaged, or that whatever belonged to them might be restored when the Spoils came to be divided. 'Tis even thought, that *Antenor* was left by the *Greeks* to command in the City, and that being abhorred by his Subjects as a Traitor, he was at last obliged to seek a Retreat in *Italy*. We are further told, that the Enemy entered *Troy* by the *Scean* Gate, which was thrown open to them; and that there having been upon that Gate the Figure of a Horse, which was *Neptune's* Symbol, by whom the Walls were said to have been built, this gave Occasion to Fable, that the Enemy had entered the City by the Stratagem of a Wooden Horse; perhaps too this was called the Horse-Gate.

The second Opinion followed by *Homer* (2), *Virgil* (3), and at the same Time most generally received by the Ancients, especially by *Polephatus* and *Dionysos* of *Crete* (4), is, that the *Greeks*, despairing to take *Troy*, made a wooden Horse so large, that it could not enter by the Gates, feigning that this was a Vow they offered, before their Return, to *Minerva*, whom they had offended by carrying off the *Palladium*. We are further told that the *Trojans* were credulous enough to introduce that fatal Machine into the City, and to place it in the Citadel, where was the Temple of the Goddess thought to be offended; and that the *Greeks*, who had concealed themselves, not in the Horse's Belly, as *Virgil* says in a poetical Manner, but in a neighbouring Cavern, taking Advantage of the Guards being asleep, who, from a Presumption that all was secure from the *Greeks*, had abandoned themselves to Riot and Debauchery, entered by the Breach; and their Companions having returned from *Tenedos*, where they likewise lay concealed, made themselves Masters of the City. According to the same Authors, *Sidon*, who let himself be taken Prisoner as a Defserter, gave the *Greeks* the Signal to return.

What-

(1) *L. 5.* (2) *Odyss. l. 4.* (3) *Ene. l. 2.* (4) *De Belle Trojana,*

Whatever Embellishments *Virgil* has given to this Episode, the Substance thereof is very probable; and *Dithys* of *Crete* tells the Story much in the same Way as that famous Poet. *Palephatus* adds, that the Cave into which the *Greeks* retired, was still called in his Time, the Place of the Ambush of the *Greeks*; and we may say there is nothing impossible therein, and that this Opinion approaches nearest to ancient Tradition. Accordingly, in the Bas-reliefs of the *Iliac-Table*, which we have been speaking of, we see the *Trojans* leading the Horse into their Citadel: It is also figured, in another Place of the same Table, with a Ladder, which *Sinon* carries to let the *Greeks* descend, according to the Opinion of those who believed that they were shut up in the Cavity of that Machine. We find also the same Horse represented on several ancient Monuments, and especially on an *Intaglio*, published by *Liceti*, so current was this Tradition in Antiquity. Is it incredible that superstitious People should introduce into their City that Machine which they took to be an *ex voto*, made to an incensed Goddess?

But what makes this Opinion still more credible, is, what we are told to this Purpose by *Dithys* of *Crete*, concerning the Treachery of *Antenor*, who himself gave *Ulysses* that Advice, at delivering to him the *Palladium*, giving him to understand, that he must make a wooden Horse, as an Offering to *Minerva*, before his Departure; and upon this he got a Peace concluded with the *Greeks*, for a Sum of Money to be given them to indemnify them for the Charges of the War, which accordingly was put in Execution: So that having retired not long after, and left that Horse as a Monument of Peace, and of the Satisfaction they said they owed to *Minerva*, *Antenor* found no great Difficulty to get a Breach made in the Wall, to receive it into the City; which being done, he gave the *Greeks* Notice by *Sinon*, to return while all were asleep, and quite secure. Those who thought this Artifice too gross to impose upon the *Trojans*, gave out, that this Horse was a warlike Machine, which they made Use of for approach-

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approaching the Walls of the City, in order to demolish them: Which makes *Laocoon* say;

*Aut hæc in nostros fabricata est Machina muros;
Aut aliquis latet error, equo ne credite Teucris.*

Æneid. l. 2.

Virgil, to make *Eneas's* Relation of the taking of that City more moving, says it was sack'd and burnt in the same Night; but most of the Ancients who have related this Event, assure us, that the first Thing they did was to make themselves Masters of all Quarters of the City, to put all those to the Sword who made any Resistance; and to take the rest Prisoners, Men and Women, pillaging the City; and that some Days after, the Booty and Slaves, which were collected upon the Shore, being divided, the *Greeks*, before they embarked, set Fire to it. Those who had escaped the Slaughter, by hiding themselves in Places unknown to their Enemies, run to extinguish it, and saved some Quarters, where they dwelt after the Departure of the *Greeks*.

Dion Chrysostom, in the Speech he made in the midst of *Troy*, which I quote elsewhere, asserts, upon the Faith of the *Egyptian* Priests, that *Helen*, courted by the greatest Princes of *Asia* and *Greece*, was married by her Father to *Alexander*, or *Paris* the Son of *Priam*: that the *Greeks*, disobliged at this Preference, made War upon the *Trojans*; that the same *Greeks*, weakened by Plague, Famine, and the Dissensions that arose among themselves, entered into a Treaty of Peace with the *Trojans*; and that, in order to perpetuate the Memory of the Peace that was concluded, they built a wooden Horse, on which were engraved, in gross Characters, the Articles of the Peace; and, in fine, that the *Trojans*, to introduce this Machine into the City, made a Breach in the Walls. This Narration, if true, shews us what had given Rise to the Fables delivered by *Virgil*, and the other Poets.

Be that as it will, the City was sack'd, according to the most generally received Opinion. The numerous Family of *Priam* was cut off with that unfortunate Prince, and all his Children had a wretched End. He himself was slain by *Pyrrhus* in the midst of his Gods; and it availed him nothing to embrace the Altar of *Jupiter Erceus*; the Son of *Achilles* tore him from thence, even in the Sight of his Wife (a), and plunged his Sword into his Heart. That unfortunate Prince, as we know, had many Children by his Wives and Mistresses; one by *Arisba* the Daughter of *Merops*, his first Wife, named *Efacus*, who grieved himself to Death for the Loss of a Spouse whom he tenderly loved, and whom *Ovid* makes to have been transformed into a Didapper (b); perhaps to signify that he threw himself into some River. By *Hecuba*, his second Wife, he had *Hector*, *Paris*, *Deiphobe*, *Helenus*, *Polites*, *Antipbe*, *Hisponous*, *Polydorus*, *Troilus*; and four Daughters, *Crensa* married to *Eneas*, *Laodice*, *Polyxena*, and *Cassandra* (c). These unfortunate Children almost all perished in this War.

The valiant *Hector*, after having a Thousand Times spread Terror and Desolation thro' the *Grecian* Camp, fell at last a Victim to *Achilles*'s Resentment, as has been already said. We may, however, remark by the Way, that, according to *Philostratus*, the *Trojans*, after rebuilding their City, conferred upon that Heroe divine Honours; and he is represented upon their Medals

(a) *Pausanias*, in his *Phoc.* says, that, according to the Poet *Lescheus*, *Priam* was not slain before the Altar of *Jupiter Erceus*, but that he was only torn from it by Force; and then being dragg'd as far as his Palace Gate, he met there *Pyrrhus*, who made no Scruple to take from him the little Life he had left from Old Age and Misfortunes.

(b) *Metam.* l. 11. that Poet feigns, in his usual Way, that he was then only in Love with the Nymph *Hesperia*, and that as he was in Pursuit of her, she was stung by a Serpent, whereof she died; which was the Cause of *Efacus*'s desperate Grief:

Vulnus ab angue

A me causa data est, &c.

(c) We say nothing here of several other Children he had by his Concubines: *Virgil* says to this Purpose in his second Book of the *Æneid*:
Quinquaginta illi thalami, spes tanta nepotum.

dals riding in a Chariot drawn by two Horses, holding in one Hand a Pike, and in the other, the *Palladium*, with this Greek Inscription, ΕΚΤΩΡ; and in the Exergue ΙΑΙΕΩΝ. The unhappy *Troilus* also died by the Hand of *Achilles*. *Paris*, after having received a mortal Wound by the Hand of *Philoctetes*, repaired to Mount *Ida*, to his beloved *Qenone*, and there breathed his last. *Deiphobus*, who had married *Helen*, after the Death of his Brother, was betrayed by that Traiteſs, and delivered up to the *Greeks*, who used him in the most barbarous Manner possible (a). The generous *Laodice*, to shun the Captivity with which she was threatened, threw herself down from the Top of a Rock (b). *Polyxena*, who had been the innocent Cause of *Achilles's* Death, as shall be said in the History of that Prince, was sacrificed by a barbarous Piety to that Heroe's Manes. *Creusa*, whom *Priam* had married to *Enecas*, perished in the Conflagration (c). *Andromache*, *Heſtor's* Wife (d), after having seen her Son *Aſtynax*, the only Hope of the *Trojans*, thrown down from a high Tower, became the Slave of *Pyrrhus*, who, from I know not what Remains of Pity, gave her in Marriage to *Helenus*, *Priam's* Son, whose Predictions had been favourable to him. *Helenus*, I believe, was the only one of *Priam's* Children who survived the Ruin of his Country; and he spun out a wretched enough Life in *Epirus*, whereof he was King, sharing with his dear

(a) See to this Purpose the sixth Book of the *Eneid*.

(b) In *Phrygia* was the Tomb of this unfortunate Daughter of *Priam*, which *Maximus*, the Prætor of *Asia*, repaired, and put an Epitaph upon it, which is thus translated from the *Greek*.

Laodicen quondam hic suscepit terra debiscens,

Hostilem fugeret cum tremebunda manum.

Sed quod tempus edax consumpserat atque Sepulcrum,

Splendorem huic Prætor Maximus attribuit :

Quæque alibi sine honore Puellæ stabat imago,

Ærea sic titulo desuper imposuit.

Canterul Comm. in *Cassindram*.

(c) *Virgil*, l. 2. relates this Death in a fabulous Manner.

(d) She was the Daughter of *Eetion*, King of *Cilicia*, whom *Achilles* slew at the Sack of *Troy*, with his other Children. *Homer. Iliad*. l. 2.

dear *Andromache* the Affliction which so great Disasters had brought upon her.

This Princess had three Children by *Pyrrhus*, *Molossus*, *Pielus*, and *Pergamus*; and a Son by *Helenus*, named *Cestrinus*, who having succeeded to a great Part of his Father's Dominions, with the Aid of the *Epirotes*, settled in the Country which is above the River *Thyamis*, now *Calama*, and gave to the Province called *Cammania*, according to *Stephanus*, the Name of *Cestrina* (a). *Molossus* ascended not his Father's Throne till after the Death of *Helenus*. *Pergamus* went into *Asia*; and having fixed his Residence in *Teuthrania*, where *Arias* reigned, slew that Prince in a Duel, made himself Master of his Dominions, and gave his Name to the City *Pergamus*.

In that City, according to *Pausanias*, from whom I borrow this Passage, was the heroic Monument of *Andromache*, who, according to some Ancients, had followed *Pergamus* into *Asia*. *Pielus* continued in *Epirus*, where he reigned after the Death of *Molossus*, who probably left no Children: At least, according to the Author now quoted, it was to him that *Pyrrhus* and his Ancestors ascribed their Original. *Homer*, and after him the other Poets, have always represented *Andromache*, as a virtuous Woman, and exceedingly attached to her Husband *Hector*. The last Farewel she takes of her Husband, is one of the most moving and laboured Pieces of the *Iliad*: two Verses of *Ovid* give us likewise a good Picture of her :

*Hector ab Andromaches complexibus ibat in Armis,
Et galeam capiti quæ daret, Uxor erat* (1).

VOL. IV.

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The

(a) *Pausanias*, l. 2. § in *Atticis*, grants that *Cestrinus* was the Son of *Helenus* and *Andromache*, and that he gave his Name to the Country where he reigned; but he says, *Andromache* married not her Brother-in-law till after the Death of *Pyrrhus*. *Pliny*, l. 4. mentions the City *Cestrina*, which he places upon one of the Mountains of *Pindus*, which extended as far as *Thessalia*. *Prohm*, his son, makes no mention of it; but this is no Wonder, since he says in his *Trilogia*, a People in the Neighbourhood of *Thessalia*, and well known in that Time.

(1) *Amor. Eleg. 9.*

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The unhappy *Cassandra*, whose Predictions were never credited, after having received, in *Minerva's* Temple, the most outrageous Insult, became the Slave of *Agamemnon*, and was sacrificed to *Clytemnestra's* Jealousy. The Fable says, that *Apollo* had been in Love with her, and that having allowed her to ask whatever she pleased, as the Reward of her Love, she desired of him the Gift of Prophecy, her Lover instantly disclosed to her the most secret Mysteries of Futurity; but *Cassandra*, instead of gratifying his Passion, shewed him nothing but Scorn and Contempt. *Apollo*, incensed at her Falseness, tho' he could not take away from her the Gift he had given her, took Care, at least, that she should not be the better for it, and that no Credit should be given to her Predictions, which had no other Effect, but to render her odious. The Foundation of this Fable I take to have been, that *Cassandra*, the Priestess of *Apollo*, learned from a Priest of that God the Art of Divination, either by Magic, or the Aruspices, wherein she afterwards excelled, with her Brother *Helenus*, who learned it from her. Probably that Priest fell in Love with her, and being unable to gain her Affection, defamed her thro' all the City, and to her Relations, laying his Intrigue, according to the Manner of those Times, to the Charge of the God whom he served. He succeeded in his Design; for *Cassandra* having foretold the Calamities that were to befall *Paris*, *Priam*, and the whole City, she was clap'd up in a Tower, where she incessantly sung the Misfortunes of her Country (a), which made her pass for mad. Her Shrieks and Tears were redoubled, when she learned that *Paris* was gone into *Greece*; but it was her Fate not to have her Prophecies believed, and only made the Objects of Ridicule. The Night in which *Troy* was taken, *Ajax* having met her in *Minerva's* Temple, where she hoped to have found a Sanctu-

(a) This is the Account given of her by all the Poets, both *Greek* and *Latin*; *Homer*, *Eschiles*, *Lycophron*, *Euripides*, *Virgil*, *Ovid*, *Seneca*, &c.

Sanctuary, offered Violence to her; but this Sacrilege was punished, as shall be said afterwards (a).

The *Greek* Captains having made a Division of the Slaves, she followed *Agamemnon*, who fell in Love with her; and this Passion cost both of them their Life. *Clytemnestra*, who had a Mind to secure the Crown to her Lover, put her Husband and her Rival to Death, in the Manner which we are going to relate immediately. Upon the Predictions of this *Cassandra*, surnamed *Alexandra*, has the Poet *Lycophron* made a Poem, which may be reckoned a Master-Piece of Obscurity. 'Tis probable, that this Princess was interred at *Amyclé* in *Laconia*, and that she was there acknowledged as a Divinity. *Pausanias* is my Voucher, and this Author relying upon some Tradition which was current in his Time, speaks of the Temple which the *Amycleans* had built in Honour of this Princess, wherein was also the Picture of *Clytemnestra*, and the Statue of *Agamemnon*, who was also believed to have been buried in that Place.

Hecuba attempting to revenge the Death of her Son *Polydorus*, was stoned to Death by the *Greeks*. But this Event is too considerable, not to be told at full length. *Priam* being informed that the *Greeks* were arming against him, sent his Son *Polydorus* with a Part of his Treasure, to the Court of *Polymnestor* King of *Thrace*, to whom he had given in Marriage his Daughter *Ilione*. He seeing the *Greeks* Masters of *Troy*, and apprehending he had been used ill, or prompted to the cursed Design by Avarice, secretly put to Death

R 2

that

(a) *Pausanias*, explaining the fine Picture of *Polygnotus*, representing the taking of *Troy*, says, and I think he is alone in his Assertion, That *Ajax* was there represented, holding his Buckler in his Hand, and approaching the Altar, as to justify himself by Oath from the Outrage he was going to have committed against that Princess. To what Excess did the Pagan Religion carry its Votaries! Was ever such an extravagant Oath heard of? And what are we to think of *Menelaus* and *Agamemnon*, who received it? For this I take to be the true Sense of the Expressions used by that Author, who seems to say that these two Princes freed him from that Oath: which makes no rational Sense. Would it not have been better to show that Mistake, as *Wiffen* advised. *Pausan. ibid.*

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that young Prince, the Grief whereof killed *Ilione* (a). *Hyginus* relates the Fact with some little Variation : He says, that *Priam* having sent the young *Polydore*, who was then but in the Cradle, *Ilione* brought him up as her Son, and made *Dipbilus* pass for her Brother ; probably, being jealous of the Cruelty and Avarice of her Husband. In fact, the *Greeks* having let him know that they would give him *Electra*, the Daughter of *Agamemnon*, if he would divorce *Ilione*, and put *Polydore* to Death, that Prince accepted the Proposals ; but instead of his Brother-in-law, it was his own Son he put to Death.

Polydore in the mean Time went to consult the Oracle of *Apollo* about his Destiny, and learned that his Father was dead, and his Country burnt ; but he was agreeably surprized to find the quite contrary at his Return to *Thrace*. *Ilione*, having explained to him this Riddle, he pluck'd out *Polymnestor's* Eyes. *Homer*, more to be relied on, as to all the Adventures of this War, than *Virgil*, and the rest, instead of this Story, relates (1) how *Achilles* slew that young Prince near the Walls of *Troy*. *Pliny* (2), speaking of the City *Aënoa*, makes Mention of the same *Polydore's* Tomb, for which *Ausonius* has made an Epitaph, quoted in the Margin below (b).

In the Opinion of those who will have him to have been slain by the King of *Thrace*, *Hecuba* having a Mind to revenge the Death of her Son, went to the Palace of *Polymnestor*, where under Pretence of having something to say to him in Secret, she was going to have plucked out his Eyes ; but some *Greeks* having run up to his Assistance, drag'd her out of that Prince's Palace,

(a) - - - Hunc Polydorum obtruncat, & auro
Vi potitur. Quid non mortalia pectora cogis
Auri sacra fames! Æn. l. 3.

(1) *Iliad* l. 20. (2) *L. 4. c. 11.*

(b) Cede procul tumulo, myrtum fuge nescius hospes :
Telorum seges est sanguine adulta meo.
Confixus jaculis, & ab ipsa cæde sepultus,
Conder in hoc tumulo bis Polydorus ego,
Scit pius Æneas, & tu, Rex impius! quod me
Thracia pœna premit, Trojaque cura tegit.

Chap. VI. explained by HISTORY. 245

Palace, stoned her, and propagated a Report that she had been transformed into a Bitch, to denote the Rage and Despair to which her Misfortunes had reduced her; or, as *Servius* remarks, because she had continually loaded with Imprecations the Army of the *Greeks*, that she might thereby procure Death, which she preferred to Slavery (a).

Diclys of *Crete* informs us (1), that *Hecuba* became a Slave to *Ulysses*, and that this Prince, obliged to set out *incognito*, because he was accused of *Ajax's* Death, left that unfortunate Princess in the Hands of her Enemies, who stoned her in the Manner already said. But 'tis very probable, that he himself was the Author of her Death, since it is said, that upon his Arrival in *Sicily*, he was so tormented with terrible Dreams, that in Order to appease the Gods, he built a Temple to *Hecate*, who presides over Dreams, and a Chapel to *Hecuba*.

Mela and *Strabo* (2) tell us, that in *Thrace* was to be seen the Place of her Burial, which was called *the Dog's Tomb*. *Hyginus* again, so many Traditions there were concerning these ancient Adventures, is of Opinion, that she was thrown into the Sea, and that the Place got the Name of *Cyncum*. I find, however, another Foundation to this Fable. *Hecuba*, in *Euripides*, complains of her being chained like a Dog to the Gates of *Agamemnon*, whose Slave she was: As to which, we are to observe, that anciently the Porters were, for the most part, chained. Perhaps this unfortunate Princess was made Porter to the King of *Mycenæ*. The *Greeks* gave bad enough Usage to those illustrious Captives, to give a Handle to this Conjecture, tho' the most common Tradition is, that she died in *Thrace*.

Hecuba, *Homer* tells us, was the Daughter of *Dymas*, or, according to *Virgil*, who has followed *Euripides*, of *Cisseis* King of *Thrace*, and Sister to *Theano*, the Priestess of *Apollo* at *Troy*, during this War.

R 3

Such

(a) To this Purpose *Plautus* speaks in his *Menæchmi*.

Omnia mala ingererat, quemquam aspexerat:

Itaque adeo jure capta est appellari canis.

(1) L. 5.

(2) L. 13.

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Such was the deplorable Fate of this illustrious Family (a): its Allies had no better End; *Memnon*, *Rhesus*, *Chorebus*, *Agapenor*, *Elpenor* King of *Eubœa*, and the rest, lost all of them their Lives there.

The Heroes of the *Grecian* Army were not more fortunate: *Achilles* was slain by *Paris*; *Patroclus* by *Hector*: That Prince, the Favourite of *Achilles* according to *Eustathius*, was from *Opus*, a City of the *Locrian* *Opuntians*. *Ajax*, the Son of *Telamon*, killed himself in Despair, because *Ulysses* got the better of him in the Dispute for *Achilles's* Arms: *Ajax*, the Son of *Oileus*, was shipwreck'd, and buried in the Waves, as if the Gods had thought fit to avenge the Injury he offered to *Cassandra* in the Temple of *Minerva*. *Ulysses* suffered infinite Dangers by Sea; *Agamemnon* was slain by his Wife, upon his Arrival at *Mycenæ*. *Mnestheus*, King of *Athens*, died by the Way: Almost all these Captains died either by War or Shipwreck; and of all the Kings that were in League to avenge the *Atride*, there was hardly one who returned in Peace to his Family and Children, since most of those who escaped Shipwreck, were obliged to go and plant Colonies in remote Countries. *Teucer*, exiled by his Father *Telamon*, for not having revenged the Death of his elder Brother, went to *Cyprus*, and built a new *Salamis* in Honour of *Jupiter*, where his Descendants reigned down to *Evagoras*, that is, till the Hundredth Olympiad, as we learn from the Panegyric upon this last Prince, made by *Isocrates*. *Agapenor*, the Leader of the *Arcadians*, retired into the same Island, and there built *Paphos*, and a Temple to *Venus*, at some Distance from that which had been formerly erected to her by *Cinyras*, as we read in *Pausanias*. *Nestor*, with the *Pylians*, went into *Italy*, and built the City *Metapontus* (b), *Phalantus*, with a Colony of *Lacônians*, built

(a) *Hic finis fatorum Priami, hic exitus illum Sorte tulit.*

Æn. l. 2.

(b) *Pausanias*, in *Messen.* supposes that *Nestor*, after the Trojan War, returned to *Pylus*, and died there; and this Author says nothing of his Voyage to *Italy*. He even adds, that he had preferred *Pylus* for the Seat of the Empire to the other Cities in his Possession, and that his Descendants followed his Example.

Chap. VII. explained by HISTORY. 247

built in the same Country that of *Tarentum*: *Philoctetes* that of *Petilia*. *Diomedes* having found his Wife faithless, went to *Apulia*, where he founded that of *Argyripa*; and *Idomeneus*, driven from *Crete* for having barbarously sacrificed his Son to an imprudent Vow, was forced to fly into the Country of the *Salentines*.

Thus perished most of the *Grecian* and *Trojan* Heroes; but as I have but transiently touched upon most of the Adventures that befel them, the Reader no doubt will expect that I should enlarge further upon so interesting Subjects: This is what I shall do, after I have settled the *Æra* of the Event now related, and given a short History of the *Trojans* and their City.

C H A P. VII.

The Æra of the taking of Troy, with the History of that City.

A R T I C L E I.

The Æra of the taking of Troy.

THE Year in which *Troy* was taken, makes an essential *Æra* for the Knowledge of the Events of the fabulous Age: This being once effectually settled, we date the Facts prior to it, by tracing upwards; and those that were posterior, by reckoning downwards, as far as the *Cbristian* *Æra*. But in every one of these Events, as in all others of those remote Ages, Authors ancient and modern differ so widely from one another, that 'tis impossible to reconcile them. Those who are for abridging the Chronology of the Antiquities of *Greece*, such as *Conringius*, and Sir *Isaac Newton*, date the taking of *Troy* only at the Distance of about 900 or 907 Years from the vulgar *Æra*: Those who extend these same Antiquities too far, as *F. Stephen Sauzet*, contend that this City was taken 1388 Years before the same *Æra*. Between these two Extremes, there are forty or fifty different Opinions, which remove this Event, some to a greater, some to a smaller Distance.

It will not surely be expected that I should insist upon an Examination into all these particular Opinions; the Reasons that induced Chronologists to prefer one Date to another, are founded upon Particulars which would carry me too far from my Subject; and those who have the Curiosity to examine them, I refer to *Petavius*, *Scaliger*, *Don Pezron*, and particularly to the tenth Chapter of the third Book of *The critical Reflections upon the Histories of ancient Nations*, by M. *Fourmont* the elder, where they will find full Satisfaction. For my part, I adhere to the Opinion of *Eratoſthenes*, quoted by *Eusebius*, and to that of *Apollodorus* the Chronographer, cited by *Clement of Alexandria*, who place the taking of this City, the one in the Year 1183, the other in the Year 1181, before the Christian Æra; that is, about 450 Years before the Foundation of *Rome*, 400 or 407 before the first Olympiad, as is fully proved by *Joseph Scaliger* (1), in the last Year of the Reign of *Mnestheus* King of *Athens*, and of that of *Agamemnon*; and under the Judgeship of *Eliud*. After all, the Opinion which I follow is at this Day most generally received; and if *Julius Africanus* has taken the Mean between the two Authors above-mentioned, by placing this Æra in the Year 1182, and if *Petavius* has set it a Year farther back than *Apollodorus*, by making it fall in the Year 1184, the Difference is but inconsiderable, and affects not my Subject in the least. For in whatever Year I place this Æra, as it is the Boundary of my Researches, 'tis enough that I have settled the other Æras that preceded it, that the Reader may see with a Glance of his Eye the Distance there is between the Events which compose the History of the fabulous Times, which is all I aim at in this Volume.

ARTICLE II.

The History of Troy.

The Origine of the *Trojans* and of their City is, like that of all other Nations, wrapped up in Darkness and Fictions,

(1) *De Emend. Temp.* l. 5.

Fictions, and we find different Sentiments among the Authors who have given Account of it. Some make them come from *Crete*, others from *Italy*, or from *Samo-
thrace*, or *Athens*, or *Arcadia*, and each of these Opinions is supported by Partisans of great Name. The Historian *Josephus* alledges, that they sprung from *Thogarmah*, the Son of *Gomer*; but as the Prophet *Ezekiel* makes the northern Nations descended from this *Thogarmah*, which hardly agrees to the *Phry-
gians*, I submit to *Strabo's* Opinion, who makes them to have come from *Thrace*: An Opinion the more probable, that besides their nearness to one another, these two People had anciently a great Conformity in Manners, and almost one and the same Religion.

Be that as it will, tracing their History from about the Time of *Dardanus*, provided we reckon him, as *Diodorus* and *Apollodorus* do, a Native of *Thrace* or *Samo-
thrace*, and not of *Italy*, as *Virgil* makes him, with a View to flatter the *Romans*, this History, I say, begins to grow less obscure.

Dardanus having quitted *Samo-
thrace* (a), after the Death of his Brother *Jafson*, who was Thunderstruck for having offended *Ceres*, went to the Coasts of *Asia
Minor*, into the *Lesser Phrygia*, where he married *Batea* the Daughter of *Teucer*, who himself having quitted *Crete*, came and settled in the same Country, where *Scamander* the most ancient King of that Province we know of, had given him his Daughter in Marriage. *Dardanus*, after the Death of his Father-in-Law, ascend-
ed

(a) According to *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, l. 1. *Dardanus* was a Native of *Arcadia*: a Deluge that happened in his Time, having obliged him to depart from thence, he transplanted himself into an Island of *Thrace*, which was first named *Dardania*, and afterwards got the Name of *Samo-
thrace*, as we read in *Pausanias*, which he also quitted, and removed into *Phrygia*. He had brought with him *Corybas* his Nephew, the Son of his Brother *Jafson*, who instituted there the Worship of the Mother of the Gods, as has been said in the History of that Goddess. *Dardanus* also transported into the same Country the *Samo-
thracian* Gods, and two Statues of *Pallas*, whereof the one was so famous afterwards under the Name of the *Palladium*.

ed the Throne, reigned sixty-two Years, built the City *Dardania*, and was reckoned the Founder of the Kingdom of *Troy*. *Erichthonius*, who succeeded him immediately, reigned forty-six, and *Tros* his Son near as many Years; it was the latter gave his Name to *Troy* which was formerly called *Dardania*. *Tros* had three Sons; *Ganymedes*, carried off by *Tantalus*; *Ilus* the Founder of the Royal Line; and *Affaracus* the Founder of that of *Anchises Eneas's* Father. *Ilus* built the Citadel of *Ilium*, reigned forty Years, and left a Son *Laomedon*, the Father of *Priam*, under whom *Troy* was taken. *Laomedon*, who reigned twenty-nine Years, incircumvented the City with Walls so strong, that the Work was ascribed to *Apollo* the God of fine Arts; or rather, if we may believe *Homer*, to *Neptune*, who raised them while *Apollo* kept *Laomedon's* Flocks, in hope of a Hire promised him by that Prince, by whom he was defrauded; which makes *Horace* say:

Mercede pacta destituit Deos (1).

To this Purpose *Homer* introduces *Neptune* speaking:

Troy's Walls I rais'd (for such were Jove's Com-
mands)

And you' proud Bulwarks grew beneath my Hands:

Thy Task it was to feed the bellowing Doves

Along fair Ida's Vales, and pendent Groves.

But when the circling Seasons in their Train,

Brought back the grateful Day that crown'd our Pain,

With Menace stern the fraudulent King defy'd

Our latent Godhead, and the Prize deny'd:

Pope's *Iliad*, 21. 520.

The strong Moles that were found necessary to be raised against the Waves of the Sea, passed for the Work of the same God; and the Winds and Inundations having afterwards demolished a Part of these Works, it was given out, after the Manner of those Times, that *Neptune* had thus taken Vengeance upon the perfidious *Laomedon* (2). The same was the Fate
of

(1) Ode 3. Book III. after *Pindar*. (2) See the History of *Neptune*.

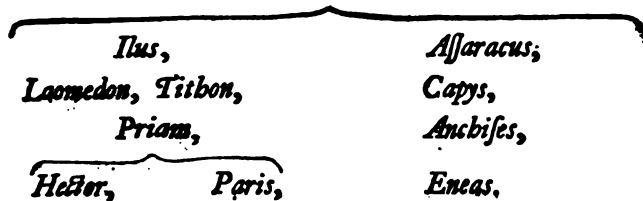
of the Walls of *Troy* that perished by Age, and were rebuilt by *Hercules*, when he took that City, as has been said in his History.

To enable the Reader to understand the two Royal Lines from *Dardanus* to *Priam*, I have set down the genealogical Tree.

DARDANUS,

Erichthonius.

Tros.



As to what remains, we have followed the most general Opinion, and perhaps the most probable one, concerning the manner in which this famous City was sack'd; for 'tis almost beyond doubt, whatever be the Accounts of the *Romans*, who would needs at any rate derive their Original from *Eneas* and *Venus*, that it was not destroyed; but that *Eneas* and *Antenor* secured it from Fire and Pillage, if they did not even give it up themselves to the *Greeks*; and that the former, or at least his Descendants (a), reigned there very long, as *Neptune* plainly foretels in the *Iliad*, or, to speak more accurately, as *Homer*, an *Ionian* by Extraction, and consequently in the Neighbourhood of the *Trojans*, makes *Neptune* foretel, because probably, even in the Time of that Poet, the Posterity of *Eneas* were still reigning over that City, whom he could not but please by making the God of the Sea foretel what they actually saw with their Eyes. In fact, it would seem, as is very ingeniously remarked by a learned Author (1), that

(a) *Eusebius*, upon the Authority of *Dicys* of *Crete*, says the Sons of *Antenor* reigned at *Troy* after the Death of *Priam*, till *Hector's* Children expelled them thence, and reigned in their stead.

(1) *Father Harduin's Apology for Homer.*

that *Homer's* Design was only to mark the total Extinction of *Ilus's* Line, from whom was descended the perfidious *Laomedon*, who by his Impieties had rendered himself unworthy of the Crown, for 'tis his Impieties are set forth by the Fable of *Neptune* and *Apollo* whom he cheated, and at the same time to punish *Priam's* base Indulgence to his Children, and particularly to the adulterous *Paris*; and to raise to the same Throne that of *Assaracus*, and of the pious *Aeneas*, who in *Homer* and *Virgil*, is always represented as a Man reverencing the Gods, who appear to take particular Care of him, and save him several times from imminent Death, to preserve him for the Throne of the *Trojans*. 'Tis true, the learned Author now cited goes still farther, in maintaining that *Aeneas* is the true Heroe of the *Iliad*, wherein I cannot be of his Mind, tho' he supports it very ingeniously.



B O O K VI.

*Containing the particular History of the
Leaders of the Grecian and Trojan
Armies.*

AFTER having divided the Spoils of the *Trojans*, the *Grecian* Captains embarked each with his Troops, and underwent various Adventures, which making a considerable Part of the History of that Time, claim a Place here. I begin with that of the General of the Army.

C H A P. I.

The History of Agamemnon, and his Family.

PELOPS being forced, as has been said, to quit *Lydia*, after *Tros* had made himself Master of his Dominions, in Revenge of the Death of *Ganymede* (a), had repaired to the Court of *Oenomaus* King of *Pisa* (b), who gave him a kindly Reception (c). This Prince had a Daughter, who was an accomplished Beauty, her Name *Hippodamia*; but whether he was in Love with her himself, as *Pausanias* and *Hyginus* will have it; or affrighted by an Oracle, which had foretold him that he would be slain by his Son-in-law, as it is in *Diodorus* (1), *Thucydides* (2), and *Strabo* (3), he would not give her in Marriage; and, in order to remove a Multitude of Lovers, who ply'd her continually with their Addresses, he had proposed to them a very hard Condition, promising the young Princess to the Man who should outstrip him in the Race, adding that he would put all to Death whom he got the better of. The Lover was to set out first in the Race, and *Oenomaus*, with Sword in Hand, was to pursue him; and to run it through his Body, if he could overtake him (d). He had already put Thirteen to Death, according to *Pindar* (4), and others had withdrawn, when *Pelops* bribed *Myrtilus*, *Oenomaus's* Charioteer (e). He, in hope of the Reward which *Pelops* had promised him, cut the King's Chariot in two, and then joined the two Parts together so artfully,

(a) Some Authors are of Opinion, that *Pelops* quitted his Country only upon Account of Earthquakes.

(b) *Alepus*, King of a Part of the *Peloponnesus*, had a Daughter named *Harpina*, who had by *Mars*, or by some Warrior or Priest of that God, *Oenomaus*.

(c) The Date of his Arrival in *Greece* has been marked before.

(1) L. 4. (2) L. 1. (3) L. 8.

(d) *Diod. loc. cit.* *Pindar.* *Luc. &c.* The Race was from *Pisa* to an Altar of *Neptune*, in the Isthmus of *Corinth*.

(4) *Ode. Olym.* l. 1.

(e) He is given out to have been the Son of *Mercury*, probably because he was very cunning.

fully, that no Appearance of a Fracture was to be seen ; but while *Oenomaus* was in Pursuit of *Pelops*, who was running before him, the Chariot falling asunder, that unfortunate Prince broke his Neck, and *Pelops* married *Hippodamia*. *Myrtilus* was punished for his Baseness and Treachery, for *Pelops* himself threw him into the Sea, which from him was called *Myrtilene*. The Waves having driven his Body ashore, the *Phe-neates* gave him Burial, and instituted an Annual Feast in his Honour, because he was reckoned the Son of *Mercury*. By the Way, we are to observe, that the Quality of Charioteer was not dishonourable in those Times ; and that frequently Kings themselves, or some Prince of their Court, guided their Chariots, as we learn from *Homer*, in several Places of the *Iliad*. This *Myrtilus* was therefore a Man of Figure, and if we may believe *Pausanias* (5), he himself was of the Number of *Hippodamia's* Lovers ; and engaged in *Pelops's* Service, only in Hope he would allow him to gratify his Passion, which he had sworn to do in a Manner which is seldom agreeable to Husband or Gallant. But he had no sooner got the Victory, than he cleared himself of his Oath, by throwing him into the Sea. *Mercury*, we are told, was highly provoked at *Pelops's* Perfidiousness ; and tho' that Prince, to appease him, had built to him a stately Temple, the God never gave over persecuting his Posterity, and was the Author of all those great Disasters which are so much celebrated by the Poets. It was for the same Reason, if we may believe *Euripides*, that *Mercury* sent the famous Ram, whose Golden Fleece brought so many Calamities upon that Family : But this Fable we shall explain upon another Occasion : In the mean Time, let us return to *Pelops*.

That Prince having ascended the Throne, gained several Conquests over his Neighbours, and gave his Name to that fine Country, which was from that Time called the *Peloponnesus*, as much as to say, the Island of *Pelops*. Further, it was fabled that the Horses which
drew

drew *Pelops's* Chariot, had Wings, and that they had been given him by *Neptune*, whereby was signified their Swiftnefs; or, if we may believe *Pindar* and *Pa-lephatus*, the Meaning is, that *Pelops* made Use of a Ship with Sails to carry off *Hippodamia*. The Poets tell us, it was *Neptune* favoured *Pelops* in that Race; and they add farther, that God had formerly carried away that Prince, because, in fact, he had left his Country to imbarck upon the Sea, and his Voyage had been very happy.

Pindar has touched this Fable with a great Deal of Delicacy, in his first *Olympic*. He first rejects the Fable of the Ivory Shoulder, which I shall speak of in the History of *Tantalus*, and considers it as a Fable childish and frivolous. He says that in reality *Tantalus* having been invited to the Table of the Gods, was willing to regale them also in his Turn, but that nothing fell out at that Entertainment which was not consistent with strict Decency. He adds, that *Neptune*, charmed with the Beauty of the young *Pelops*, carried him up to Heaven, to pour out his Nectar, as *Ganymede* did to *Jupiter*; that Search was made every where for that young Prince, without any Account of him being heard; and he would always have continued in the same Office, had not the Crime of *Tantalus* his Father, who would needs distribute to Men the Nectar which the Gods had reserved to themselves as a Symbol of their Immortality, brought about *Pelops's* Disgrace, and obliged the Assembly of the Gods to degrade him again to the Earth, where falling in Love with *Hippodamia*, he went one Day to the Sea-Coast, to invoke *Neptune's* Aid, that he might have Success in that Enterprize, which was attended with equal Danger and Difficulty. The God of the Sea heard his Prayer, and made him a Present of a Chariot, and Horses of indefatigable Swiftnefs, with which he was victorious in the Race, and gained the Prize, which cost so many unfortunate Lovers their Lives. Thus it is great Poets have the Art of embellishing their Works with ancient Pieces of History, by cloathing them with all the Ornaments of Poetry. *Pelops*

Pelops had several Children; among others, *Atreus* and *Thyestes*. They, by the Advice of their Mother, having put to Death their Brother *Chrysippus*, whom *Pelops* had by his Mistress *Astioche*, that Prince banished them from his Court, with the Queen. It is even alledged, that she died thro' Anguish and Remorse for having been accessory to her Father's Death, by holding Intelligence with *Pelops* and *Myrtilus*. *Pelops* died some Time after *Hippodamia* (a).

Atreus, who had retired to the Court of *Eurystheus* King of *Argos*, and had married his Daughter *Ærope*, was declared King in Room of his Father-in-law, who was slain in *Attica* by the *Heraclide*, not long before the *Trojan War*; and thus it was, the *Pelopidae* ascended the Throne of *Mycenæ*: *Thyestes*, who followed him, won the Heart of the Queen his Sister-in-law, and had two Children by her, or three, according to some. *Atreus* having discovered this Intrigue, banished him at first from his Court; but not thinking himself sufficiently revenged by that Removal, he recalled him under Pretext of Reconciliation, and having assassinated the Children whom he had by the Queen, served them up to him at Table, in poisoned Dishes of Meat, as we are told by *Pausanias*. 'Tis further said, that that the Sun hid his Head, that he might not shine upon so barbarous a Repast; a lively and natural Figure, to denote the Abhorrence of universal Nature at this Action. *Thyestes* was avenged afterwards by his Son *Ægisthus*, who slew his Uncle *Atreus*, in the Manner I am going to relate. But, in order to the right understanding of this whole History, we must know that *Thyestes* having found his Daughter *Pelopea* in a Grove consecrated to *Minerva*, ravished her, without knowing who she was, and he had by her *Ægisthus*, whom she exposed. *Servius*, upon the first Book of the *Eneid*, and *Lactantius* upon the fourth of the *Thebaid*, say, he committed that Incest wittingly, because an Oracle had foretold him that he should be revenged by a Son whom he should have by her; and that he was acted by such

(a) See the End of *Theseus's* History.

a strong Desire of Revenge, that he stifled all the Dictates of Reason against so criminal an Action. Some Time after the Death of his Wife *Ærope*, *Atreus* married the same *Pelopea*, who was his Niece, and educated, together with *Menelaus* and *Agamemnon*, the young *Egisthus*, whom he had brought to his Court, as we learn from *Pausanias* (1), and *Hyginus* (2). They having found, at *Delphi*, their Uncle *Thyestes*, brought him to their Father, who clap'd him up in Prison, and sent *Egisthus* to kill him; but *Thyestes* having spy'd in his Hands the Sword which *Pelopea* had snatched from him when he was going out of the sacred Grove, after the Violence he had offer'd to her, found him out to be his Son. His Daughter coming up, no sooner knew the Incest of her Father, than she fell upon that same Sword, and *Egisthus* carried it all bloody to *Atreus*, who thought he had got rid of his Brother; and having gone to offer a Sacrifice of Thanksgiving, *Egisthus* slew him during the Ceremony, and delivered his Father out of Prison. Thus *Thyestes* ascended the Throne, and banished his two Nephews, *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*, the Sons of *Atreus* his Brother.

These two young Princes repaired to the Court of *Polybides* King of *Sicyon*, who sent them to *Oeneus* King of *Oechalia*; and that generous Prince married them to the two Daughters of *Tyndarus*, *Chryseis* and *Helen*. With the Assistance of their Father-in-law they resolved to revenge the Death of *Atreus*, pursued *Thyestes* vigorously; but he having fled for Refuge to an Altar of *Juno*, they spared his Life, contenting themselves with banishing him to the Island of *Cythera*. Thus *Agamemnon* ascended the Throne of *Argos*, which he transferred to *Mycenæ*, and his Brother *Menelaus* succeeded *Tyndarus* his Father-in-law, and was King of *Sparta*.

'Tis proper to remark, before we go farther, that when I say *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus* were the Sons of *Atreus*, I speak according to the common Opinion, tho' I am not ignorant that there are several Authors, among whom may be named *Eusebius* and *Scaliger*,

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who believe, and that with a good deal of Reason, that they were not the Sons of that Prince, but of *Plishtenes* his Brother ; and as the Actions of the latter had not deserved honourable mention in History, he having led a very obscure Life, hence the Ancients, and especially *Homer*, to do honour to the Memory of the Chief of so many Kings, and to that of his Brother, industriously made them pass for the Sons of *Atreus* who had brought them up, and gives them always the Name of the *Atride*.

I forgot to take notice that the Beginning of the Enmity between *Atreus* and *Thyestes*, was owing to *Thyestes*'s having stole from his Brother a Ram with a *Golden Fleece*, on which he reckoned the good Luck of his Family depended ; and that he committed this Theft by the Interposition of *Ærope* his Sister-in-law, whom he had debauched ; which incensed *Atreus* to such a Degree, that he cut the Throats of the two Children whom his Brother had by *Ærope*.

As for Egisthus and Agamemnon, says Pausanias (1), I know not which of the two gave the first Provocation to the other ; if it was Egisthus, or if he only acted in revenge of the Murder of Tantalus the Son of Thyestes, who had married Clytemnestra the Daughter of Tyndarus. 'Tis very true that *Euripides*, in his *Iphigenia in Aulis*, introduces *Clytemnestra* reproaching *Agamemnon* for having put to Death *Tantalus* the Son of *Thyestes* her first Husband ; but *Eustathius* upon the eleventh Book of the *Odyssey*, treats the former Marriage as a Fable, from the Authority of *Homer*, who speaks of *Agamemnon* as having married a Woman so young, that it is in no wise probable she had a former Husband.

Almost all the Ancients, especially the Poets, either believed, or would have it believed, that *Atreus* in revenge had made his Brother eat up his own Children, and obliged the Sun to hide his Head ; and this shocking Piece of ancient History is represented upon a fine Groupe in the *Farnese Gallery*. It was always thought that the Statue of this Groupe represented the Emperor *Commodus* ; but 'tis actually an *Atreus*, standing

(1) Loc. cit.

ing with a Poniard in one Hand; and in the other a Child whom he is going to sacrifice to his Resentment; and this is *Gronovius's* Opinion of it; against *du Perrier*, and some others (a).

'Tis proper however to observe; that *Strabo* and *Servius* consider this pretended Fact only as an Allegory, founded upon *Atreus's* having been the first who foretold the Eclipses of the Sun, who at that Time hides himself from our Eyes, as if he actually withdrew under the Horizon.

Be that as it will, *Agamemnon* being obliged about that time to leave his Court to go and command the *Grecian* Army, was heartily reconciled to his Cousin *Egistbus*, pardoned him for the Death of his Father, and even left him the Care of his Wife *Clytemnestra*, and of his three Children; *Orestes* (b), *Iphigenia*, and *Electra*, appointing however a certain Songster his sole Confident to overlook their Conduct. *Egistbus* having captivated the Affections of *Clytemnestra*, found a way to get rid of the too vigilant Guardian, and destroyed him at a Hunting-Match. After this he kept no Measures, and their Freedoms were so open, that *Agamemnon* himself heard the afflicting News thereof about the end of the Siege of *Troy*, and resolved to take Revenge so soon as he was returned; but his Wife prevented him, and killed him upon his Arrival, together with her Rival (c); as we read in *Homer* (1), *Euripides*, *Diodorus Siculus* (2), *Lycophron* (3), *Virgil* (4), and all the other Ancients.

To proceed, 'tis well known in what manner this sad Tragedy was acted, and how *Clytemnestra*, either in the midst of a Feast which she gave him upon his Arrival, or as he was coming out of the Bath, having desired her Husband to lay aside a *Phrygian* Habit,

S 2

which

(a) Consult *Meziriac* upon this Place.

(b) *Orestes* was the youngest, and was then but a Child.

(c) We are told that *Ajux* the Son of *Nauplius*, to revenge the Death of his Uncle *Palamedes*, went and informed *Clytemnestra*, that her Husband was in love with *Cassandra*, whom he was bringing with him.

(1) *Odysseus* l. 2. (2) *L.* 4. (3) In *Cassandra*. (4) *En.* l. 4.

which he wore ever since the taking of *Troy*, for one which she said she had wrought for him during his Absence; that Prince was going to put it on, but his Hands being intangled in the Sleeves, which she had designedly made close, the Conspirators rose from Table and put him to Death.

The faithless *Clytemnestra* afterwards married *Egistbus*, and set the Crown upon his Head, which he kept seven Years, as we learn from *Velleius Paterculus* after *Homer* (1). Young *Orestes* had also been the Victim of that cruel Intrigue, if his Sister *Electra* had not secretly conveyed him to the Court of his Uncle *Strophius* King of *Phocis*, who had married *Agamemnon's* Sister. There it was that *Orestes* contracted that close Friendship with his Cousin *Pylades* the Son of *Strophius*, which rendered them inseparable for ever.

Pausanias says (2), there were to be seen in his Time at *Mycene*, the Remains of the Tombs of *Agamemnon*, of *Eurymedon* his Charioteer, and of all those whom that General had brought back from *Troy*, and whom *Egistbus* cut off at the Entertainment he gave them, near that of *Teledamus* and *Pelops*, and of the Twins whom *Cassandra* had by *Agamemnon*, and whom *Egistbus* had put to Death without pitying their tender Age, after having imbrued his Hands in the Blood of the Father and Mother.

Orestes some Years after formed the Design of revenging the Death of his Father; and having for that Effect raised some Troops, left *Strophius's* Court with *Pylades*, entered secretly into *Mycene*, and concealed himself at the House of his Sister *Electra* (a), whom *Egistbus* had married to a Man of mean Extraction, that he might have nothing to fear from his Resentment. She first spread a false Report thro' *Mycene* of *Orestes's* Death, at which *Egistbus* and *Clytemnestra* were

(1) *Odyss.* l. 3. (2) In *Corinth*.

(a) *Homer*, l. 9. names this Princess *Laodice*; as to which the Commentators remark, that the Surname of *Electra* was given her only to denote that it was very late before she was married; 'tis even probable, that it was not given her till long after by the tragic Poets, and that *Homer* never knew it.

were so overjoyed, that they went directly to the Temple of *Apollo*, to give Thanks to the Gods for this agreeable News. *Orestes* entering thither with his Soldiers, and having ordered the Guards to be seized, slew his Mother and her unhappy Lover with his own Hand, thus revenging the Death of his Father and Grandfather. They were interred without the City, not having been deemed worthy to be buried, as *Pausanias* remarks, in the same Place with *Agamemnon*, and those who had been slain with him.

Then it was, we are told, that *Orestes* began to be tost by the Furies, that is, the Stings of his Conscience gave him no respite. He went first to *Athens*, where the *Areopagus* expiated him from his Crime: A remarkable Event, whereof we have the Date upon the *Parian* Marbles, which falls on the Year 1093 or 94 before *Jesus Christ*, 7 or 8 Years after the taking of *Troy*. We are told that the Voices of the Judges being equal on either Side, *Minerva* in Person had given hers in favour of that unfortunate Prince; this is what we learn from *Hesychius* and *Eschiles*. But the Truth is, that a Person was as effectually acquitted by an Equality of Votes (a), as if *Minerva* had given hers to cast the Balance. We are further told, that *Orestes* in Gratitude, raised an Altar to that Goddess, under the Name of *Warlike Minerva* (b).

Orestes thought it not enough to be acquitted by the Judgment of the *Areopagus*, he went also to the *Trezenians* to submit to the Ceremony of Expiation; and *Pausanias* informs us (1), that he was obliged to lodge in a Place by himself, no body daring to receive him into his House, and all looked upon him as under a kind of Excommunication. At length he moved the

S 3

Compassion

(a) *Pari judicam sententia reus absolvitur.*

Hesych.

Vincit Orestes, siquidem suffragia judicata sunt Aequalia.

Eschiles.

(b) *Pausanias*, in *Attic.* calls it ἀγλαΐα Ἀθηνᾶς Βουλοῦς; which also carried an Allusion to the *Areopagus*, whose Name came from *Ares*, or *Mars*.

(1) In *Corinth.* c. 31.

Compassion of the *Trezenians*, who expiated him; and the Author now named remarks, that a Laurel sprung from the Place where that famous Expiation was performed, because some of the Water of the Fountain *Hippocrene* had been spilt there. This Laurel was even to be seen in his Time, near the Place where that Prince was lodged. The *Trezenians*, as we learn from the same Author, shewed also in his Time the Place near *Apollo's* Temple, where *Orestes* was obliged to dwell by himself, till his Crime was entirely expiated; and even at present, continues that Author, the Descendants of those who were delegated to that Purification, eat always in that Place on a certain Day of the Year. The same People shewed also the Stone on which the nine Judges had sat who expiated him, and which they called *The sacred Stone*.

The same Author, in another Place (1), tells us that *Orestes*, still pursued by the Furies, had stopped near *Gythium* in *Laconia*, where he took his Seat upon a rough Stone, which was still to be seen in his Time; and that as that Prince had found there some Relief from his Disorder, he had called that Stone by the Name of *Jupiter Cappautas*, that is, *Jupiter the Comforter*.

After these Expiations, *Orestes* was re-established in his Kingdom by *Demophoon* King of *Athens*, who had lately succeeded *Mnestheus*, under whose Reign the *Arundel* Marbles (a) fix the Date of the Expiation by the *Areopagus* mentioned above; which, according to *Velleius Paterculus*, happened seven Years after the taking of *Troy*; wherein this Author agrees with *Homer*, who says (2) *Egisthus* reigned seven Years at *Mycene* after the Death of *Agamemnon*.

Neither the Judgment of the *Areopagus*, nor that of the *Trezenians* were able to calm *Orestes's* troubled Mind;

(1) In *Lacon.* c. 22.

(a) The 26 *Æra*. *Selden* in his Commentary upon that *Æra*, is of opinion that this Sentence was passed in the thirtieth Year before the Destruction of *Troy*, notwithstanding the Authorities I have now quoted: Consult this Place of the *Arundel* Marbles.

(2) *Odyss.* l. 3.

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Mind ; and the Furies incessantly tormenting him, he went to consult the Oracle of *Apollo*, from whom he learned, that in order to get rid of them he was to go to *Tauris* (a), and carry off the Statue of *Diana*, and set *Iphigenia* at Liberty from *Thoas's* Tyranny. Accordingly he went thither with *Pylades* ; but having been taken and clapped in Chains, he was upon the Point of being sacrificed to the Goddess, according to the Custom of the Country, as we read in *Diodorus* (1). It was on this Occasion appeared that generous Struggle of Friendship, whereof *Cicero* speaks, one of those two Friends offering his Life for the other. In the mean Time *Orestes* having made himself known to the Priestess his Sister, she artfully suspended the Sacrifice, giving the King to understand that these Strangers being guilty of Murder, they could not be offered in Sacrifice to the holy Gods till they had received Expiation ; that the Ceremony must be performed by Sea ; and that the Statue of *Diana* having also been profaned by their unhallowed Hands, required Purification. *Iphigenia* having gone on board her Brother's Ship, went off with him, and carried along with her the Statue of the Goddess. Some Authors will have it, that *Orestes* before he set out had put *Thoas* to Death. But whatever be in that, this Event makes one of the finest Tragedies in *Euripides*. There were so many different Traditions concerning this Expedition of *Orestes*, and particularly concerning his Return (b), that one knows not which of them to fix upon, One thing agreed to by all the Ancients is, that after *Orestes* had executed his Enterprize, the Furies gave over tormenting him ; that is, he reckoned his Crime sufficiently expiated, or Time had abated his Remorse. But since I have begun to speak of this Statue of *Diana*, I shall here set down all that the Ancients say of it.

S 4

Several

(a) This is the *Taurica Chersonesus* beyond the *Euxine* Sea.

(1) L. 4.

(b) See what has been said in the first Volume, in relation to the Gods of *Cappadocia*.

Several laid claim to this Statue of *Diana*, and 'tis not easy to determine in what Place *Orestes* left it; 'tis probable that several similar ones were formed, which were consecrated and left in several Places. The *Albanians* gave out that he had deposited it at *Brauton*, upon the Confines of *Attica*; but *Pausanias* thinks there is more Probability in what the *Lacedemonians* alledge, that it was brought to *Sparta* by that Heroe, where he actually reigned, and where the Statue of *Diana* was worship'd under the Name of *Orthya*, because *Orestes* had brought it so equally poised that it inclined neither to the one Side nor the other, from the Word *ὀρθος*, *rectus*, *right*; and *Lygodesmos*, because he had pack'd it up among some Vine-Twigs. Even human Victims were sacrificed to it until the Time of *Lycurgus*, who abolished that Custom, and substituted in its stead that of Flagellation, to denote that the Altar of *Diana* of *Tauris* was always stained with human Blood.

Orestes, after his Return, married *Electra* to his dear *Pylades*, by whom, according to *Hellanicus*, quoted by *Pausanias* (1), she had two Children, namely *Strophius* and *Medon*. He bethought him next of getting back *Hermione*, the Daughter of his Uncle *Menelaus* and *Helen*, who had been promised him a long Time ago, and whom *Pyrrhus* the Son of *Achilles* had carried off from him: Thus having learned that his Rival was gone to *Delpi* to appease *Apollo*, against whom he had used some indecent Expressions in relation to the Death of his Father, as we are told by *Euripides* and *Trogus Pompeius* (2), he set out thither directly with *Pylades*, and having insinuated to the People that *Pyrrhus* was only come there to rife their Temple, made them fall upon him and murder him in a barbarous Manner. *Pausanias* adds (3): "When *Pylades* seconded *Orestes* in his Design to kill *Pyrrhus*, I presume he did it not only out of Friendship to *Orestes*, but also in order to revenge his great Grandfather. For understanding this Passage we must know that

" *Pylades*

(1) In *Corinth*. (2) *Justin*, l. 17. *Euripides*. (3) In *Corinth* c. 29.

“ *Pylades* was the Son of *Strophius*, the Grandson of *Crestus*, and great Grandson of *Phocus* the Son of *Eacus*; and that *Pyrrhus* was the Son of *Achilles* and Grandson of *Telamon*, who had slain *Phocus* his Brother, as I have said elsewhere.”

After the Death of *Pyrrhus*, *Orestes* married *Hermione*, and lived from that Time in peaceful enough Enjoyment of his Kingdom; but having gone to *Arcadia*, he was bit by a Serpent, and died there at the Age of ninety Years, after a Reign of seventy (1). For he was but twenty when he left *Strophius's* Court, and he ascended the Throne after the Death of *Egisthus* (a). His Son *Thisamenus* succeeded him, and after him *Pentbilus* whom he had by *Erigone*, the Daughter of *Egisthus* and *Clytemnestra*, and consequently his Sister by the Mother. He had united to the Kingdom of *Mycene* that of *Sparta*, after the Death of *Menelaus* his Uncle and Father-in-law, the *Lacedemonians* having chose rather to settle the Crown upon the Husband of *Hermione* the Daughter of that Prince and *Helen*, than upon his natural Children. All these Facts happened from the Year 1250 before Christ, to the Year 1050 (b), that is in the Space of 200 Years: Then the Kingdom of *Mycene* came to a Period; for the *Heraclide*, as has been said, having entered the *Peloponnesus* in the Time of *Pentbilus*, obliged him to retire into *Acbaia*.

Let us not forget another Adventure which we have in *Hyginus* (2). *Electra* having received the false News of the Death of *Orestes* and *Pylades*, who were given out to be sacrificed to *Diana* by *Thoas*, and this Report having spread, *Aletes* the Son of *Egisthus* seeing none remaining of the Blood of the *Atridae*, took Possession of the Crown of *Mycene*. In the mean Time *Electra*, in order to be better informed in a Piece of News wherein

(1) Petav. Rat. tem. l. 1.

(a) When *Agamemnon* went to the Trojan War, *Orestes* was but three Years old, thirteen when his Father was killed, and twenty when he avenged his Death.

(b) See Petav. loc. cit.

(c) Fable 122.

wherein she was so highly interested, arrived there the same Day that *Orestes* and *Iphigenia* did, and then the first News she heard was, that her Brother had been sacrificed by *Iphigenia*'s own Hands. Transported with Rage and desperate Grief, she snatched a flaming Brand from the Altar, and with it was going to have bored out her Sister's Eyes, when by good Luck *Orestes* appeared; and they coming to the Knowledge of one another, returned all three to *Mycene*, where they were no sooner arrived, than *Orestes* slew his Cousin *Aletes*; and he would have served his Sister *Erigone* the Daughter of *Egisthus* and *Clytemnestra*, with the same Measure, had not *Diana* interposed by conveying her to *Attica*, where she became Priestess: Which doubtless means that the Compassion he had for the Age and Innocence of that Princess, determined *Orestes* to spare her Life, contenting himself with consecrating her to the Service of *Diana*.

It will not be thought foreign to the Purpose to lay together in a few Words, all the Crimes of this Family, in order to justify *Horace*'s Expression, who calls it, *The cruel Family of Pelops, Sæva Pelopis domus. Tantalus*, who was the Founder of it, sacrificed his own Son *Pelops* to his Superstition: He again put to Death his Father-in-law *Oenomaus*, whose Wife *Hippodamia* killed herself thro' Despair. *Atreus* and *Thyestes*, the Sons of *Pelops*, slew their Brother *Chrysippus* at the Instigation of their Mother, who took this Revenge upon her Rival. *Thyestes* debauched his Sister-in-law, and *Atreus* assassinated the Children that sprung from that incestuous Embrace, served them up at Table to his Brother-in-law, made him drink their Blood, and at last sacrificed his Wife to his Fury. The same *Thyestes* ravished his Daughter, who killed herself with Grief, *Egisthus* the Son of *Thyestes*, to avenge his Father, put his Uncle *Atreus* to Death; *Thyestes* usurped the Crown of *Argos*, and banished his two Nephews, *Agamemnon* sacrificed, or at least delivered up as a Victim his Daughter *Iphigenia*, from Ambition to have the Command of an Army. *Egisthus*, violating the Laws of Hospitality,

Hospitality, debauched from her Husband the Affections of his Sister-in-law *Clytemnestra*; and they two together assassinated *Agamemnon* and *Cassandra*. The same *Agamemnon* had put to Death his Cousin *Tantalus*. *Orestes* slew his Mother and his Cousin *Egistbus*, and brought about *Pyrrbus's* Assassination. What Dissoluteness, what Ferocity of Manners! or rather what obstinate Perverseness of Taste in every Age, to bring upon the Stage these hideous and detestable Subjects; instead of choosing out from Antiquity the Examples of Virtue, that might easily be found there!

It remains to explain, before we close this Article, the Fable of that Ram with the *Golden Fleece* which the Gods are said to have given to *Pelops*, and which was a kind of sacred Pledge that insured the Crown of *Argos* to his Family. *Thyestes*, as we learn from *Seneca* (1), stole it from his Brother *Atreus*, with the Assistance of *Erope* his Sister-in-law, whom he had debauched (a). It was probably nothing else but a Scepter covered with a gilded Fleece, which from a Tradition not well examined, came to be taken for the Fleece of one of *Pelops's* Rams. The Kings of *Tantalus's* Race, always bore this Scepter, which they looked upon as a Talisman. It was even believed that *Jupiter* had given it to his Son *Mercury*, who made a Present of it to *Pelops*, from whom it passed to *Atreus*. *Thyestes*, by stealing it from his Brother, thought to secure the Crown to himself: *Agamemnon* again bore it at the Siege of *Troy*, as we learn from *Homer* in more Places than one (b). The People of *Cberonea*, if we may believe *Pausanias*,

(1) In *Thyeste*.

(a) See Cicero l. 3. de Nat. Deor. who cites this Verse from an ancient Poet, whom *F. Delrio* will have to be *Attius*.

*Addo huc quod mihi portento Cælestum Pater
Prodigium misit regi stabilimen mei;
Agnum inter pecudes aurea clarum coma,
Quendam Thyestem clepere ausum esse e regia,
Quæ in re adnutricam conjugem cepit sibi.*

(b) See *Seneca* in *Thyestes*, where he introduces *Atreus* complaining that his Brother had stole this Scepter from him. See *Justin*, l. 4. & *Homer*.

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Pausanias (1), had such Veneration for this Scepter afterwards, that they adored it like a Divinity.

Pausanias tells us farther (2), that this Ram was represented in Marble upon *Thyestes's* Tomb, in that Place of the Highway between *Mycena* and *Argos* which was called *the Ram*.

Such is the History of this celebrated Family, always more noted for the Incests and other Crimes than for the virtuous Deeds of the Heroes of it. I have unravelled it as far as I was able from the Fables that were blended with it. Thus when we read *Euripides*, *Sophocles*, *Seneca*, as also our Moderns, *Corneille*, *Racine* and the rest, we will know how to understand them, and consider only as Embellishments, whatever is not consonant to these Explanations I have now given.

C H A P. II.

The History of Eacus, Peleus, Achilles and Thetis.

EACUS, the Founder of this Race, was the Son of *Jupiter* and *Egina* the Daughter of *Asopus*, King of *Beotia*, who was confounded with a River, and therefore said to be the Son of the Ocean. That Prince, to avenge the Insult which *Jupiter*, that is a King of *Arcadia* (3) who bore this Name, had done to his Daughter, raised against him a powerful Army, and gave him Battle, wherein he was routed, as we learn from *Theodontius* (4); and because in ancient Times it was usual to intermix Fable with History, those who wrote this said, the River *Asopus* had with his Streams made War upon *Jupiter*, and that he, by transforming himself into Fire, had Thunder-struck him (a); a physical Circumstance founded upon the Situation of that River, which flows in a Country that abounds with

(1) In Beot.

(2) In Corinth.

(3) *Pausan.* in *Arcad.*

(4) In *Boccace*, l. i. c. 55.

(a) *Namque ferunt raptam patriis Æginan ab undis
Amplexu latuisse Jovis: furit amnis, et astris
Insensus bellare parat, &c.*

Stat. Theb. l. 7.

with Sulphur (*b*). To this Fable another was added, importing that *Jupiter*, to save his Mistress from the Vengeance of her Father, who made strict Search for her, transformed her into an Island: which signifies that he concealed her in an Island of the *Saronick* Gulf, now *Lepanta*, which was some time called the Island of *Egina*. There was *Eacus* born, the most equitable Judge of his Time, which procured him a Place among the Judges of Hell, as has been said. What raised the Character of that Prince, is, that *Attica* being distressed with a great Drought, with which the Gods punished the perfidious *Egeus*, for having put to Death the young *Androgeos*, the Oracle was consulted, and Answer given, that the Calamity would cease so soon as the King of *Egina* became Intercessor for *Greece*. This Prince offered Sacrifices to *Jupiter*, under the Name of *Panbellenian*, in Consequence of which there fell great Showers of Rain. *Pausanias* (1) adds, that the *Eginetes* had built a Monument named *Eacea*, where were the Statues of all the Deputies of *Greece*, who came for that Purpose into their Island.

Again, to this History was added a third Fable, which 'tis necessary to explain before we go farther. The Pestilence laid waste *Eacus's* Dominions, who seeing most of his Subjects cut off by it, prayed *Jupiter* to avert that Calamity. *Ovid*, who gives a pompous Description of the Desolations occasioned by that Plague (2), says, *Eacus* saw, in a Dream, a great Swarm of Pismires come from the Bottom of an old Oak, which, as they appeared, were transformed into

(*b*) The *Asopus*, according to *Pausanias* in *Corinth*. flowed in the Country of the *Peliasians*, a small Spot of Ground near *Sigyon*. It was under the Reign of *Aras*, that *Asopus*, who passed for the son of *Neptune* and *Ceclusa*, discovered the Source of that River, which from him was called the *Asopus*. Here then are two *Asopus's*, the one a River, the other a Man who communicated his Name to the River. It was the same with the River *Inachus*, *Marfyas*, and a great many others. Thus when we read in the Mythologists and Historians, that *Egina* and *Thebe* were the Daughters of *Asopus*, we are to understand that their Father was King *Asopus*, who gave his Name to the River; and so others.

(1) In *Corinth*. c. 29. (2) *Met.* L. 7.

to Men, and that on the next Morning, so soon as that Prince awoke, he received Advice, that his Dominions were better peopled than they had been before. This Fiction is founded merely upon the Equivocation of the Name of the *Myrmidons*, a People of *Thessaly*, the Subjects of *Eacus*, which resembles that of the *Pismire*, called in *Greek* Μυρμηκ. That People bearing a further Resemblance to that little Animal, in so far as instead of inhabiting Towns or Villages, they commonly kept in the open Fields, having no other Retreat, but the Dens and Cavities of Trees. *Eacus* drew them together, and settled them in Abodes more secure and commodious. This is the Truth of the Fable. Thus the *Greeks* took Advantage of the smallest Similitude to utter agreeable Fictions. Farther, the Original of that Circumstance, importing that *Juno*, to be avenged of her Rival, had inflicted that Calamity upon the Subjects of him whom she brought into the World, is, that this Goddess was often taken for the Air, from whose bad Qualities, Pestilence and other epidemical Distempers arise. For, to repeat it once more, it was usual to intermix Allegory even with the most historical Fables.

Eacus had by his Wife *Endeis*; the Daughter of *Chiron* (a), two Sons, *Peleus* and *Telamon*; and by *Psammathe* the Daughter of *Nereus*; *Tbetis's* Sister, a Son named *Phocus*. As the latter was playing with his two Brothers, *Telamon's* Coit lighted upon his Head, and slew him (1). *Eacus* being informed of this Accident, and hearing, at the same Time, that those young Princes had formerly had some Diffension with their Brother, or had committed that Crime at the Instigation of the jealous *Endeis* their Mother, he banished them from the Island *Egina*, condemning them to perpetual Exile. They went on board a Ship; and when they were got to a little Distance from the Shore, *Telamon* sent a Herald to his Father, to assure him,

(a) According to *Pausanias*, the Scholiast on *Pindar* and *Apollodorus*.

(1) *Diod. l. 4.*

him, that tho' he had killed *Phocus*, it was accidentally, and by no Means thro' premediated Design; but *Eacus* sent him a Return, that he was never to set his Foot again in his Island, and that if he had a Mind to justify himself, he might plead his Cause from his Ship, or from an Eminence on the Sea-shore. *Telamon* entered the following Night into the Port called *Secret*, and there having of Earth made a kind of Hillock, which was still subsisting in the Time of *Pausanias*, he spoke in his own Defence; but having lost his Cause, and *Eacus* being but too well justified in his Suspicions, he set sail for *Salamis*. This Manner of Self-defence, by taking that Precaution, was in Use in the heroic Times, and the same Author from whom I have borrowed this Relation, informs us that the *Athenians* had such another Court: The Judges sat upon the Sea-shore, while the Pannel, who appeared in his own Defence, was in a Ship, ready to go off if he was condemned.

Peleus sought a Retreat at *Pthia* in *Thessaly* with *Eurytion* the Son of *Aetor*, who after having expiated him, gave him his Daughter *Antigone* in Marriage, and the third Part of his Kingdom. The Issue of this Marriage was a Daughter named *Polydora*, who married *Borus* the Son of *Perieres*, to whom was born *Mnestheus*, the same who expelled *Theseus* from *Athens*, and reigned in his Stead. *Peleus*, being invited to the Hunting of *Calydon*, went thither with his Father-in-law, whom he unluckily slew as he was darting his Javelin at the Boar. By this Murder, tho' involuntary, being forced to abandon *Pthia*, he repaired to *Iolchos* to *Acastus*, who gave him Expiation. But a new Adventure happened which disturbed his Quiet at that Court. *Astidamia*, the Wife of *Acastus*, falling in Love with him, but finding him insensible, accused him of an Attempt to debauch her. *Acastus*, that he might not violate the Laws of Hospitality by putting him to Death himself, ordered his Officers to lead him to the Chace on Mount *Pelion*, and there bind him fast, hide his Sword, and then leave him thus exposed to the Mercy of the wild Beasts: As if this Manner of
putting

putting him to Death had been less against the Laws of Hospitality, than if he had condemned him to die himself. *Peleus*, thus abandoned, found a Way to break his Chains, and having gathered some of his Friends, among others *Jason*, *Castor*, and *Pollux*, went to *Iolchos*, and having forced his Way into the Palace of *Acastus*, slew *Afidamia* (1).

As he had saved himself against all Probability from so evident a Danger, it was fabled that *Jupiter* his Grandfather had made *Pluto* loose him, and give him the Sword with which he took Vengeance of that cruel Woman. In this Manner, to mention it by the Way, did that Prince, a Native of *Egina*, become Master of Part of *Thessaly*.

After the Death of his first Wife, *Peleus* married *Thetis*, the Sister of *Lycomedes* King of *Scyros*, by whom he had several Children, who all died under Age, but *Achilles*, whom we shall speak of immediately.

I have observed, that upon Occasion of this Marriage, all the Gods had disputed with him that Conquest; I shall add here, that *Thetis* was prevailed upon, with much ado, to marry a mere Mortal, after having been beloved by *Jupiter* himself, and that she had Recourse to several Stratagems to break off the Match; which is signified to us under a Fiction, setting forth, that in order to evade it, she had transformed herself into various Shapes; but that by *Cbiron's* Advice, *Peleus* had bound her with Chains; which, no doubt, means that this wise Centaur removed all the Obstacles that *Thetis* raised against that Match, and brought her, at last, to consent to it.

None of the Sons of *Eacus* resided in *Egina*. *Peleus*, after having wandered a long Time thro' different Countries, settled in *Thessaly* (a), whence he sent his Son and Grandson, with the Myrmidons, to the Trojan War, and out-lived the Destruction of that City several

(1) Apollod. l. 3.

(a) I have observed, in its own Place, that he was one of the most celebrated Argonauts; and as he survived the taking of *Troy*, this is a new Proof of the Proximity of those two Events.

ral Years. The Children of *Pbocus* came and lived in that Country, which is about the *Parnassus*, and at this Day called *Pbocis*: "I am, however, of Opinion, says *Pausanias* (1), that *Pbocis* went by that Name a Generation sooner, and that it derived it from *Pbocus* the Son of *Ornytion*, who had settled in that Country. 'Tis very probable, continues the same Author, that under the Reign of the first *Pbocus*, the Name of *Pbocis* was only given to the Country nearest to *Tithorea* and the *Parnassus*, and that afterwards the other *Pbocus*, the Son of *Eacus*, coming to reign there, gave the same Name to all the circumjacent Places: Thus under the Name of *Minyans* are comprehended not only the People that border upon the *Orchomenians*, but those also who lie towards *Scarphea*, a Town of the *Locrians*."

Peleus was the Original of the Kings of *Epirus*, where *Neoptolemus*, or *Pyrrhus* his Grandson, reigned, upon his Return from *Troy*, as shall be said in his History.

Pausanias, from whom I have taken this Narrative, informs us (2), with respect to the Posterity of *Telamon*, that *Ajax* having led a private Life, none of his Descendants were very illustrious, except *Miltiades*, under whose Conduct the *Athenians* gained the Victory at *Marathon*, and *Cimon* his Son. But that Author had forgot, in this Passage, what he had said in his *Atticks* (3), that the same *Telamon* acquired the Kingdom of *Megara*, which he gave to his Son *Ajax*; and consequently 'tis certain that he did not always lead a private Life.

The Posterity of *Teucer*, continues the same *Pausanias*, maintained themselves upon the Throne of the *Cypriots* until *Evagoras*. As for *Pbocus*, the Poet *Asius* gives him two Sons, *Panopeus* and *Chrysus*; to *Panopeus* was born *Epeus*, who framed the wooden Horse which the *Greeks* made use of in taking *Troy*. *Chrysus*

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was the Father of *Strophius*, and the Grandfather of *Pylades*, whose Mother, the Sister of *Agamemnon*, was called *Anaxibia*. These were the Three Branches of the *Æacide*, who having all come from one Stock, went and settled in different Places.

Achilles. *Achilles* was the Son of *Peleus* King of *Thesfaly*, and of *Thetis*. We are told that this Goddess to prove whether her Children were mortal, put them into a Caldron of boiling Water, or threw them into the Fire; whereby some of them perished: And *Achilles* would have had the same Fate, if *Peleus* had not seasonably come up to his Deliverance, by which Means he had only one of his Heels burnt. This Fiction has doubtless no other Foundation but some Ceremony of Purification which *Thetis* was wont to make use of. This Fable gave a Handle to say afterwards, that *Thetis* had dipp'd her Son in the Water of *Styx*, and had thereby made him invulnerable, all but the Heel; tho' we may also suppose that the Courage and Valour of that young Prince, and the Goodness of his Armour gave rise to the Fable, which is not to be taken literally, since *Homer* (1) informs us, that he had been wounded at the Siege of *Troy* by *Hector*.

The Fable which I have been explaining, gave rise to the first Name of *Achilles*, who was at first called *Pyrrhifous*, as much as to say, *Saved from the Fire* (a); and it was *Chiron* his Governour gave him the Name of *Achilles*, of whom many other Fables were published; such as that he had been nursed with the Marrow of a Lion, as we learn from *Statius* (b), because his Name may

(1) Odyss. l. 11. See *Eustathius* upon this Place.

(a) *Statius*, Achil. l. 2. *Libanius*, Orat. contra *Achillem*. *Apolodorus*, l. 4. of the *Argonauts*.

(b) *Non ullas ex more dapes habuisse, nec ullis*

Uberibus satasse famem, sed scissa leonum

Viscera, semianimesque libens transisse medullas. Stat. l. 11. v. 381.

Girac however said no Author had made mention of this, relying upon a Word in *Plutarch* ill translated by *Aniot*, where he says that *Philinus* brought up his Son, as *Chiron* had done *Achilles* with Meat not bloody; it ought to have been rendered contrary to *Chiron's* Method, as *Mixiriac* has very well observed. See

may signify that he had never been suckled; but all these Fictions are founded only upon the poor Etymology of that Prince's Name; perhaps too he was said to be nursed with a Lion's Marrow, only because in his tender Youth, he attacked in the Chace, an Exercise which he loved, Bears, Boars, and Lions without Distinction, as we learn from the same *Statius* (a).

Chiron gave *Achilles* a good Education, and taught him, besides all the Exercises suitable to a young Prince, Medicine and Music.

When *Thetis* was informed that all the Nobility of Greece were assembled to go to the Siege of *Troy*, she sent him *incognito* to *Lycomedes* her Brother, to evade the Accomplishment of some Oracles, which had foretold that this War would prove fatal to him. That he might be the better concealed, he disguised himself like a Girl, and took the Name of *Pyrrha*, from his red Hair (1): Then it was he captivated the Heart of *Deidamia* the Daughter of *Lycomedes*, by whom he had a Son named *Pyrrhus* or *Neoptolemus*. In the mean Time, as one of the Fatalities of *Troy* bore that that City could not be taken without the Presence of *Achilles*, search was made for him every where, and *Ulysses* having learned that he was at *Scyros*, made use of a Stratagem to find him out, which succeeded. Among several Trinkets he mixed small Arms (2), which *Achilles* had no sooner seen, than he grasp'd the Arms; and by this Means having discovered himself, he was obliged to march with the rest.

This History is very exactly represented in the fine Statues which Cardinal *Polignac* brought from *Rome* in his last Journey. I am persuaded however that this Adventure is of a much later Invention than to have been known in *Homer's* Time. That Poet even demo-

T 2

lishes

See *Colomier's Bibl. Choïsie*, and *Bayle*, who has copied him in his Dictionary.

(a) - - - - *Invitas turbare cubilibus ursas,
Fulmineasque fues, & sicubi maxima tigris
Ans seducta juvis facta spelunca Læonæ.*

Stat. l. 4. v. 404.

(1) *Hygin. Fab* (2) *Ovid. Met. l. 13.*

lishes it, when he tells us, that *Nestor* and *Ulysses* having gone to the Courts of *Peleus* and *Menætiüs*, they brought along with them *Achilles* and *Patroclus*, whom these two Princes frankly gave up to them.

I have often taken Notice of *Homer's* Silence as to certain fabulous Traditions; which proves them to be more modern than the Poems of that great Poet, who would not have failed to employ them to give an Air of the Marvellous to his Narration: But we must return to *Achilles*.

This young Heroe performed many noble Achievements during the Siege of *Troy*, took several Towns in Alliance with the *Trojans*, as we read in *Homer*, and *Strabo* (1), who names them all after the Greek Poet; but having quarrelled with *Agamemnon*, he kept his Tent without fighting for near a Year, and quitted it at last to revenge the Death of *Patroclus* his Friend, slain by *Hector* under his Arms. As he was stern, brutal, and outrageous, after having taken away the Life of his Enemy, he offered a thousand Indignities to his Body (2), and sold it at last to *Priam* his Father. Having afterwards seen *Polyxena* during some Truce, he fell in Love with her, and asked her in Marriage. *Diöty's* informs us, that *Achilles* found *Polyxena* in the Temple of *Apollo*, serving *Cassandra* at a Sacrifice, and that having fallen in Love with her, he asked her from *Hector*; whose Answer was, That if he would abandon the Side of the *Greeks*, and betray the Army, he would give her to him in Marriage; which highly provoked *Achilles*; he adds, that when *Priam* went to redemand the Body of his Son, he took that Princeß with him, to move the Heart of his Enemy, which had the desired Success, and at the same time proved the Cause of that young Heroe's Death; for *Priam* having observed that he was still very much in love with his Daughter, purposed to invite him into the Temple of *Apollo* under pretext of giving him his Daughter in Marriage, where, in the time that *Deiphobus* was embracing him, *Paris* killed him. The *Greeks* suspected

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suspected him of plotting with the *Trojans*, and so little did they regret the Death of this great Man, that *Ajax* was obliged to take care of his Funerals, and to employ some Persons from *Troas* to erect a Tomb to him upon the Promontory of *Sigeum* (1).

Dares of *Phrygia* gives much the same Account. He only adds, that this Prince defended himself a long Time, and sold his Life dear. *Paris* wounded him in the Heel, the only Place wherein he was vulnerable; which may be explained, without receding from Tradition, by saying that he actually wounded him in that Place (2), and it was given out that *Apollo* had directed the Blow; as if actually a God had been necessary to take away that Heroe's Life, and a Mortal could not pretend to the Power of killing him, as we are told by *Sophocles* in his Tragedy of *Philoctetes*; but without having recourse to these supernatural Circumstances, which were only invented to make the Death of that Heroe more signal; the Blow which *Paris* gave him, cut the Tendon of the Heel, the Wound whereof is mortal, unless there be able Hands to take particular Care of it; and to confirm what I here advance, that Tendon has since gone under the Name of *Achilles's* Tendon.

Tho' this Tradition concerning the Death of *Achilles* be commonly received, I will not however dissemble that *Homer* (3) plainly enough insinuates, that this Heroe died as he was fighting for his Country; that the *Greeks* fought a bloody Battle about his Body, which lasted a whole Day; he adds, that tho' wounded, he avenged his Death upon all those who came in his Way, and that before he expired he slew *Oritheus*, *Hipponous*, *Aistibous*, which put the *Trojans* into such Consternation that they all fled.

After his Death *Ajax* and *Ulysses* carried off his Body, and brought it into the Camp. This is what we see represented, tho' in a coarse Manner, upon the *Iliac* Table.

T 3

Achilles.

(1) *Dictys*, 1. 3. & 4. (2) *Hygin*. Fab. 107. (3) *Odyss* l. 24.

Achilles was honoured as a Demi-God in an Island of the *Euxine-Sea*, named at first *Leuce*, and afterwards *Achillea* (1), where he is said to have wrought a great many Miracles. We are farther told that he married there either *Iphigenia*, or according to others, *Helen*; and we have a thousand other Fables to this Purpose, founded upon the Relations of the Priests who imposed upon credulous Travellers. The Ancients have made this Island a kind of *Elysian Fields*, where the Souls of several Heroes had their Residence.

After the Death of *Achilles*, his Son *Pyrrhus* was brought to the Siege of *Troy*, tho' then but very young (a), and he distinguished himself there especially on the Day that the City was taken. It was he, according to *Virgil*, that slew *Priam*, and threw down the young *Astyanax*, *Heſtor's* Son, from a Tower; and as *Polyxena* had been the Cause of his Father's Death, he sacrificed her at his Tomb. The Misfortunes of this Princess were the Subject of two fine Pictures which *Pausanias* had seen, the one at *Albens*, the other at *Pergamus* upon the *Caicus* (2).

Pyrrhus after his Return from this Expedition married *Hermione* the Daughter of *Helen*, tho' already betrothed to *Orestes* (b), which cost him his Life; for that

(1) *Pausan.* l. 3. *Plin.* l. 4.

(a) If he was born when his Father was at *Lycomedes's* Court, that is when the *Trojan War* began to be spoke of, he might then have been eighteen or twenty Years old. The Passage I have taken from *Homer*, which makes *Helen* to have resided twenty Years at *Troy*, from whence it may be concluded, that ten Years were spent in making Preparations for that Expedition, removes many Difficulties as to the Age of *Achilles*, and that of his Son, which would otherwise be unanswerable.

Pausanias, in his *Phocica*, observes that in *Homer* the Son of *Achilles* is always named *Neoptolemus*, and that it is the Author of the *Cypriacks* who says *Lycomedes* named him *Pyrrhus*; it was *Phaenix* gave him the Name of *Neoptolemus*, because *Achilles* his Father was very young when he went to the War.

(2) *Pausan.* in *Phoc.*

(b) *Hermione* stung with Jealousy that *Pyrrhus* should have preferred *Andromache* to her, gave *Orestes* secret Information of the Absence of her Husband, and probably concerted with him to cut him off.

that Prince, as has been said, made him be assassinated at *Delpbi*, either by a Priest named *Machareus*, or by the Populace; as to which *Virgil* seems guilty of two Errors in speaking of this Death (1), one, in making *Pyrrbus* to be slain by *Orestes* instigated by the Furies, tho' all are agreed that he was delivered from them upon his Return from *Tauris*; the other in saying that he slew him before the Altar of *Apollo* his Father, tho' 'tis certain *Achilles* claimed that God neither for his Father, nor for one of his Progenitors (a); but it may be answered in Vindication of *Virgil*, as to the first Article, that Poets give themselves no trouble about the Chronology, nor the Circumstances of Time, and that they accommodate the Events of their Heroe's Life, so as to represent them at such and such a Time, what they were in any particular known Period of their Life; thus we may say *Virgil* is not blameable for not being too scrupulously attached to the Circumstances of Time, and that it was enough for him, that *Orestes* had been long acted by the Furies, to justify his representing him as furious on a very proper Occasion, when he was to cut his Rival's Throat in the midst of a Temple (b).

As to the second Article, we may suppose that *Virgil* when he says *Orestes* slew *Pyrrbus*, *ad patrias aras*, means at the Altars of the same God in whose Temple his Father had been slain, tho' he might have expressed his Sentiment better. The ingenious Translator of the *Eneid* (2) has very well expressed the Meaning of the *Latin* Poet in these four Verses:

T 4

Pyrrbus

(1) *Eneid*. l. 3.

(a) *Ast illum ereptæ magno inflammatus amore
Conjugis, & scel'rum furiis agitatus Orestes
Accipit incautum, patriasque obtruncat ad aras.*

See *Mexiriac* upon the Epistle of *Hermine* who censures *Virgil* & these Faults.

(b) *Racine* has imitated *Virgil*, and represents *Orestes* under the Influence of the Furies after the Death of *Pyrrbus*. *Trag. of Andromache*.

(2) *M. de Segrais*.

*Pyrrhus en fut epris ; mais le rival epoux,
Saisi de ses frayeurs, & d'un transport jaloux,
Le surprend, & l'immole a sa juste colere,
Aux Autels où Paris sacrifie son pere.*

Pyrrhus was smitten with Hermione's Charms, but his Rival Orestes, transported with Jealousy, and toss'd by the Furies, surprized that Prince in an unguarded Hour, and sacrificed him at the Altar where his Father Achilles fell before.

I must not forget to take Notice, that *Pyrrhus* during his Absence having lost his Father's Kingdom, which was *Thessaly*, or at least a good Part of that Country, retired to *Epirus* (1), conquered a great Part of it, and there fixed the Seat of his Empire. His Descendants reigned there after him, the Country itself was called *Pyrrhis*, and afterwards *Epirotis*.

Pindar says that Prince reigned not long among the *Molossi*, but that his Posterity settled there for ever ; which *Thetis*, in *Euripides's* Tragedy of *Andromache*, foretels him. *Molossia* was a Part of *Epirus* ; the Scholiast however remarks that this Poet mentions *Molossia* only by way of Anticipation, since it only got this Name from the Son whom that Prince had by *Andromache*.

Some of the Ancients tell us that *Helenus*, *Priam's* Son, had told him to settle in the Place where he should find Houses whose Foundations were of Wood, the Buildings also of Wood, and the Roofs of Feathers ; and that he having observed in his Way, Spears fixed in the Ground, whereon were the Cloaths of some Soldiers ; he wanted no more to persuade him that this was the Place prescribed to him, and that the Oracle was fulfilled.

Homer, who is of greater Credit and Antiquity, follows another Tradition, when speaking of *Neoptolemus's* Marriage, on occasion of *Telemachus's* coming to the Court of *Menelaus*, he says, that Prince had given him his Daughter ; and by this Expression he supposed that

(1) Justin, l. 17.

that he reigned then at *Pthia*, the Capital of the Kingdom of his Father and Grandfather; but he might very well have reigned over both Kingdoms; over the one by Inheritance, and over the other by Conquest.

C H A P. III.

The History of the two Ajaxes.

AMONG the more famous Captains of the Greeks, were also the two *Ajaxes*; the one the Son of *Oileus*, the other of *Telamon* and *Hesione*: The former, who was very powerful, equipped forty Ships (1), which he led to the Siege of *Troy*. He was a brave and intrepid Prince, stern and ferocious. The Insult he offered to *Cassandra* turned the Hearts of Gods and Men against him. *Ulysses*, according to the Testimony of *Pausanias* (2), was for his being stoned, and it would have been done, had he not offered to clear himself by Oath (3). He even insinuated that *Agamemnon* had propagated that evil Report, only that he himself might ravish *Cassandra*, with whom he was actually in Love. *Ajax* suffered Shipwreck in his Return with a Part of the Greeks, near the *Cberedin* Rocks, about the Island of *Eubœa*; *Nauplius*, who was the King thereof, having kindled a Light in the Night-time with a View to decoy the Grecian Fleet among the Rocks, wherein he succeeded; and thus he avenged the Death of his Father *Palamedes*, whom *Ulysses* and the other Grecian Captains had put to Death. The Poets have done him the Honour to justify him, by ascribing that Event to the Wrath of *Minerva*, who thus avenged the Profanation of her Temple. On this Occasion several other Fables have been delivered. It was given out, that *Ajax* having escaped Shipwreck, had rested himself upon a Rock which *Neptune* had clove with a Blow of his Trident; and that the Portion which he sat down upon had fallen into the Sea with him. Others say he was Thunder-struck

(1) Homer. *Iliad*. l. 2. (2) L. 10. (3) *Idem*. ib.

to him. The Preference given to his Competitor having turned him delirious, he fell upon some Flocks, thinking to have slain his Enemies; and finding his Mistake, killed himself in the Anguish of his Soul, in the last Year of the Siege of *Troy* (1). But I should have noticed that in this, as in every other Article, we find great Diversity of Opinions among the Ancients. For *Suidas*, after *Dicæys*, says these two Heroes disputed not for the Arms of *Achilles*, but for the *Palladium*. These Authors add that *Agamemnon* having adjudged it to *Ulysses*, *Ajax* vowed Revenge; and that *Agamemnon*, in Concert with the other Captains who were afraid of him, assassinated him in his Tent; that *Ulysses*, who was suspected for being the Author, was obliged to set out *incognito*, and the Army retained a high Resentment against *Agamemnon*.

Homer (2) makes *Demodocus* sing at the Feast which *Aleinous* gives *Ulysses*, the Dispute between *Ajax* and *Ulysses*, who came to high Words; which gave great Joy to *Agamemnon*, because it accomplished an Oracle he had received at *Pytho* (a), where he had consulted the Oracle of *Apollo*. But that Poet is not explicit as to the Ground of the Dispute. *Didymus* and *Eustathius*, who have transmitted to us the Tradition concerning it, assure us that the Question was, whether *Troy* should be taken by open Force or by Stratagem (b). Be that as it will, *Calchas*, who was consulted to determine whether they should burn the Body of *Ajax*, decided that as he had died like an Atheist, he had no Title to the Honours of a funeral Pile, but ought only to be interred, as we learn from *Sophocles*, and the young

(1) *Homer* Loc. cit. *Sophoc.* *Ovid.* &c. (2) *Odyss.* l. 8.

(a) This Oracle was that of *Delpbi*, which had revealed to *Agamemnon* that *Troy* would be taken when *Ulysses* and *Ajax* fell out in their Opinions, at a Feast upon a Sacrifice.

(b) *Homer* *Odyss.* l. 11. says, it was *Thetis*, the Mother of *Achilles*, that proposed the Dispute for her Son's Arms. The Grecian Captains being greatly at a Loss what Judgment to pronounce, brought before them some *Trojan* Prisoners, interrogated them which of the two Competitors had done them most Mischief, and they having answered *Ulysses*, the Arms were adjudged to him.

young *Philostratus* (1). *Quintus Smyrneus* however says his Body was burnt; *Strabo* (2), and other Ancients mention his Tomb, which was near the Promontory of *Rheteum*.

Whatever be in that, the *Greeks* raised a stately Monument to him upon the same Promontory; and when *Horace* says (3) this Heroe remained without Burial, he deviates from the Truth, in Allusion to that incident in the Tragedy of *Ajax*, where *Sophocles* feigns that *Agamemnon* was unwilling to allow the Honours of Burial to be conferred upon him, but that he yielded at length to the importunate Instances of *Teucer*.

To proceed, there is a Mixture of Fables in this History: One is that *Ajax* was invulnerable, the Foundation whereof we find in *Apollodorus*. *Telamon* complaining that he had no Children, *Hercules* his Friend prayed *Jupiter* to give him a Son with a Skin as hard as that of the Lion of *Nemæa*, which *Iris* had made invulnerable (4). Farther, that *Ajax* being born, was covered by that Heroe with the Skin of that Lion (5), whereby he became invulnerable, except in the Place that was under the Hole of the Skin, made by the Wound *Hercules* had given that Lion (a).

However odd this Fiction is, I believe it may be explained by saying that perhaps *Hercules*, who was *Telamon*'s Friend, having seen *Ajax* in his Youth, put upon him the Lion's Skin which he wore, as a Prefage of his future Valour.

The second Fable is united to the first; for we are told that *Ajax* had this Name (6) because *Hercules*, while he was offering Sacrifices to the Gods to solicit them to give *Telamon* a Son, and observing the Auguries, he saw an Eagle, which he reckoned a Prefage of his Birth; and perhaps the bare Resemblance of Names gave rise to this Fable.

The third is that *Ajax* was transformed into a Flower, after his Death (7). *Ovid* says the two first Letters of his Name, as also the Complaints of *Hyacinthus*, ai,

were

(1) In Heroic. (2) L. 13. (3) Sat. 1. 2. (4) Apollod. l. 3. Pind. 8th. Od. 6. (5) The Scholiast upon Sophoc. in Ajac. Suidas, &c.

(a) Some Authors say it was in the Neck, others in the Side.

(6) In Greek Ἰσχυρῆς. (7) *Ovid*. loc. cit.

were marked upon this Flower. This Fable has seemingly no other Foundation, but the Flattery of some Wit, who invented this Circumstance in the Funeral Oration on that Heroe.

The fourth is, that the Soul of this Prince, after Death, had passed into the Body of a Lion: a Fable founded upon the high Idea of *Ajax's* Valour, and the Reveries of the *Metempsychosis*.

The fifth is; that *Ulysses* having been shipwreck'd; and lost the Arms of *Achilles*, the Waves conveyed them near to *Ajax's* Tomb; as may be seen in a Fragment of *Ptolomy Ephestion*, preserved by *Photius* (1); upon which the *Greek* Poets have moralized. Probably this Fable has no other Foundation, but that *Ulysses* in some Storm, promised to send his Army to the Tomb of *Ajax*, in order to appease his offended Manes. We find in *Patin* and in *Spon*; a Medal of the *Prussians*; whereon *Ajax* is represented naked; and plunging his Sword into his Bosom.

C H A P. IV.

The History of Diomedes.

DIO MEDES, the Son of *Tydeus*, and Grandson of *Oeneus* King of *Calydon*, is one of the Heroes of the *Iliad*, whose Exploits *Homer* seems to recount with the greatest Complacency. Being settled after the Death of his Father at *Argos*, where he had great Influence, and being of the Blood Royal, tho' he had never reigned, he was chosen, with *Mecystheus* his Relation, to conduct the *Argives* to the Siege of *Troy* (2), where he signalized himself by a thousand glorious Achievements. *Homer* represents him sometimes fighting with *Hector* and *Eneas*, whom he drives before him so furiously, that *Venus* is obliged to cover her Son with a Cloud, thereby to screen him from certain Death; sometimes encountring *Venus* herself, whom he wounds in the Hand. Again, it was he that entered by Night with

(1) Ptol. Ephest. apud Photium. (2) *Homer* l. 1. & l. 5.

with *Ulysses* into *Troy*, where having penetrated into the very Citadel, he stole away the *Palladium*, on the Preservation of which that City depended (1): Accordingly we have in *Beger* (2) and *Spanheim* (3), a Medal whereon that Prince, sitting naked, according to the Manner in which *Pliny* tells us (4) the ancient Heroes were figured, holds in his Right-hand this Statue of *Minerva*, as the most remarkable of his Trophies. He also went, as is commonly believed, into the Island of *Lemnos*, whence not being able to force *Philoctetes*, he carried off from him *Hercules's* Arrows; and it was with these Arrows in his Hand that he was represented in a Statue he had at *Athens* (5); tho' *Ovid* tells the Story differently, as shall be said in the History of *Ulysses*; and *Sophocles*, in his Tragedy of *Philoctetes*, one of the finest Antiquity has left us, makes *Ulysses* be accompany'd only by the young *Pyrrhus*, the Son of *Achilles*.

At his Return from the Siege of *Troy*, where he highly signalized himself, he lost his Course in a dark Night, and landed at *Phalera* in *Attica* (6). The *Argives* whom he had with him, imagining they were in hostile Ground, began to pillage the Country; when *Demopboon*, who had lost all Knowledge of them, run up and slew several of those *Argives*, and carried off from them the *Palladium*. This Incident, which could be ascribed to nothing but the Mischance of not knowing one another, had no other bad Consequences.

Diomedes, being at *Corinth*, built a Temple to *Minerva*, under the Name of *Minerva with the fine Eyes*; and she was so called (7), in Commemoration of her having opened the Eyes of this Heroe before *Troy*, and dissipated the Darknes in which he was involved. He also built another in Honour of *Apollo* (8), surnamed *Epibaterius*, because that God had saved him from the Storm, with which the *Greeks* were overtaken in their Return from *Troy*.

So

(1) Virgil, Ovid, Silius Italicus. (2) Treasure of Brandebourg, Tom. 1. (3) Add. ad Callim. (4) L. 34. c. 5. (5) Pausan. in Attic. (6) Pausan. Ibid. (7) Pausan. in Corinth. (8) Idem ibid.

So soon as he was arrived at *Argos*, his Grandfather *Oeneus*, expelled his Kingdom by the Sons of *Agrius*, applied to him for Assistance. He forthwith led an Army to *Calydonia*, and revenged the Injustice done to that Prince; but after this Piece of Service, he declared to him, that he could not stay in *Etolia*, and advised him to return with him to *Argos*. *Oeneus* having accepted this Proposal, *Diomedes* put all possible Honour upon him as his Grandfather by the Father's Side; and to perpetuate his Memory, called the Place where that Prince ended his Days, *Oenoe*.

While he was at the Siege of *Troy*, his Wife fell in Love with a young Man named *Cyllabarus*; and there were not wanting Flatterers who said it was *Venus* had disposed him to gratify the Desire of his Lover, that she might be revenged of *Diomedes* for wounding her in the Hand. This Intrigue having made a great Noise, and *Cyllabarus* being a Person of considerable Interest, *Diomedes* grew sick of *Argos*, and went in Quest of a Settlement in that Part of *Italy*, since known by the Name of *Great Greece*; where having married the Daughter of *Daunus*, he built in *Japygia* (a) the Town of *Argos-Hippion*, now *Arpi*. *Turnus* being then at War with *Eneas*, sent to him for Assistance, which he refused to grant (1); for at Bottom *Eneas* was no Enemy to the *Greeks*, as shall be said in his History. Accordingly, *Pausanias* positively asserts, that *Diomedes* never made War upon the *Trojan* Prince. *Ovid* (2), who gives the History of the Embassy that *Turnus* sent him, says *Diomedes* excused himself by reason of the few Troops he had, because his Companions, during his Voyage, having insulted *Venus*, were transformed by that Goddess into Fowls, that took Flight into a neighbouring Island. The Fact is, that *Diomedes* being dead, his Companions finding themselves not the strongest Party in their new City, retired secretly into a little Island; and, it being full of Fowls, hence the Fable that it was the *Argives* themselves had assumed,

(a) This is what we call at this Day *Apulia*.

(1) *Ovid. Met. l. 13.* (2) *Loc. cit.*

lumed their Figure. The Learned have given themselves the Trouble to enquire what Fowls these were, and one of them has composed a Dissertation, intitl'd, *de ave Diomedea*. *Solinus* and *Pliny*, who make frequent mention of these Fowls, assure us that they call'd the *Greeks* who arriv'd in that Island, and *Ovid* says they resembled Swans.

CHAP. V.

The History of Ulysses.

ULYSSES, King of two small Islands in the Ionian Sea, call'd *Ithaca* and *Dulichium*, was the son of *Laertes* and *Anticlea* the Daughter of *Autolycus*: *Iyginus* (1), and after him *Tzetzes*, are of Opinion, as has been said elsewhere (a), that *Anticlea* was already with Child of *Ulysses* when *Laertes* married her; which *Ajax* throws up to him in the Dissension he had with him (2). *Ulysses* is known to have been a Prince of great Eloquence, sly, subtle, and artful, and to have contributed full as much by his Wiles to the taking of Troy, as *Ajax* and *Diomedes* did by their Valour. 'Tis so known, that in order to be exempted from going to the Siege of *Troy*, and that he might not forsake *Penelope*, whom he had but lately married, he feign'd himself mad, and that *Palamedes* having discovered his madness to be only counterfeited, he engaged him to join the other Captains, which afterwards cost him his life. Antiquity is divided as to the Manner in which *Ulysses* put to Death that Prince, one of the most accomplished of his Time. *Ovid* says (3), that having hid some Money in *Palamedes's* Tent; he gave out, that he had received it as a Bribe from the *Trojans*, and so got him condemned by a Council of War to be stoned. *Pausanias* (4), on the contrary, asserts, that he had read in the *Gypriacks*, that *Palamedes* having

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(1) Fab 207.

(2) See the History of *Sisyphus*. Vol. II. B. IV.

(3) *Ovid*. *Met.* l. 13. (4) *Ibid.* (4) In Phœnic.

gone a Fishing to the Sea Coast, *Ulysses* and *Diomedes* pushed him into the Water, where he was drowned.

As *Ulysses* was known to be no less eloquent than cunning and crafty, the Leaders of the Army prevailed upon him, before they embarked, to go in Quest of *Achilles* to the Island of *Seyros*, where he found him out in spite of his Disguise, and brought him with him to the *Grecian* Camp, as has been said in the History of that Heroe. He was deputed also towards the End of the Siege of *Troy*, to go to *Lemnos*, in Quest of *Philoctetes*, who had *Hercules's* Arrows; he carried off the *Palladium* with *Diomedes*, slew *Rhesus*, and took his Horses, and performed several other remarkable Actions, more from a Spirit of Revenge that animated him, and by his Wiles, than from true Valour and Prowess. 'Tis also well known, that in his Return he had several Adventures, which are the Subject of *Homer's Odyssey* (a). We shall endeavour to explain such Actions of this Heroe as contain historical Truths.

After that *Telamon*, in revenge of the Death of his Son *Ajax*, had defeated his Fleet, he took ship in a *Phenician* Vessel, with which he arrived in *Sicily*. *Homer*, and after him *Ovid*, tells us, that upon his Arrival in that Island, where the *Cyclops* then were, *Polyphemus* devoured six of his Soldiers: They add, that *Ulysses* bored out his Eye with a burning Brand, and lodging himself, with his Companions, under the Bellies of some of his Sheep, happily escaped from the Cave of that terrible *Cyclop*.

In order to explain this Fable, we must know, that *Thucydides* says, the *Cyclops* were the most ancient Inhabitants of *Sicily* (b), that their Original was not known, and none could give Account what had become of them. They were reckoned the Natives of the Country, tho' 'tis very probable they were Strangers, and that 'tis

(a) Consult *Strabo*, l. 1. *Polybius*, & *Seneca*, Ep. 88.

(b) *Cluverius*, in his Description of *Sicily*, Chap. 2. proves all Authors to be agreed, that the *Cyclops* inhabited *Sicily*; and he says, *Homer* is the only one who makes them to have inhabited the Continent. See that Chapter, as also *Turnebus*, l. 24. adv. Ch. 10.

for this Reason *Homer* says (1) they were the Sons of *Vepene*, a Name given to those who came by Sea to people any Island. This is the Opinion of *Bochart* (2), who thinks they entered thither about an Age after *Deleg*; which made them be looked upon as Natives of the Island, especially by the *Phenicians*, who did not settle there till many Ages after. If we may believe *Strabo* (3), the *Cyclops* were in Possession of that Island till the Reign of *Cocalus*; that is, until the Time of *Minos* II. and *Theseus*. They inhabited towards the West of the Island, near the Promontory of *Lilybeum*, and hence got the Name of *Cyclops*, compounded of two *Phenician* Words, *Chek-loup*; as much as to say, People of the Gulph of *Lilybeum* (a); which misled the *Greeks*, who not understanding that Language, took their Name to be derived from *Cyclos* (4), which signifies round; upon which they uttered the Fable, that the *Cyclops* had but one Eye in the Middle of their Forehead. There are Authors however of Opinion, that this Fiction has no other Foundation, but that the *Cyclops* were armed with small Bucklers of Steel that covered their Faces, and that had a Hole directly against the Eyes; whence they were said to have but one Eye. *Virgil* seems to confirm this Conjecture, by comparing their Eye to a Shield (b).

As the *Cyclops* were a savage, brutal Race (c), the Poets represent them as real Man-eaters; and instead of trying, they had slain some of *Ulysses*'s Companions, who were wandering in the Island, assert, that they had eat them up. As for the Fable that makes them pass for *Vulcan*'s Smiths, it comes from the Place of their Residence, which was near Mount *Ætna*, which from the Flames it throws out, was reckoned the Shop of that God; and the dreadful Noise which the Fire and Winds make

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(1) *Odyss.* l. 11. & 12. (2) *Chan.* l. 1. c. 30. (3) *L.* 4.

(a) *Viros sinus Lilybetani.* See *Bochart.* loc. cit.

(4) *Circulus.*

(b) *Ingens quod torva solum sub fronte latebat,
Argolici Clypei & Phœbææ Lampadis instar.* *Æn.* 3. 636.

(c) It was this Ferocity of Manners gave the *Greeks* a Handle to invent so many Fables about them.

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in those horrid Caverns, passed for the redoubled Thumps they gave upon their Anvils (a). We are told further, that *Jupiter* made use of them in forging his Thunderbolts (b), and that they had been employed in surrounding several Cities with Walls; insomuch, that in general all Walls and Towers that had great Solidity were accounted their Work. *Virgil* says (1), it was they had made the Inclosure and Gates to the *Elysian* Fields:

----- *Cyclopum edueta Caminis,
Mœnia conspicio, atque adverso fornice portas.*

and several other Works; and, if we may believe *Aristotle*, they are to be reckoned the first that super-added Turrets to the Walls of Cities.

The *Cyclops* were also ranked among the Gods, and *Pausanias* (2) speaks of a Temple at *Corinth* wherein they had an Altar upon which Sacrifices were offered to them.

Polyphemus is the most celebrated of the *Cyclops*: *Homer*, *Virgil*, *Ovid*, have made him very famous in their Works (c). The first tells us, that *Ulysses* found occasion for all his Address to get out of the Cavern. That Prince having entered thither, *Polyphemus* returning with his Flocks, shut himself in with a huge Stone, and first eat up two of his Companions, threatening him with the same Fate; but our Heroe having made him drunk, bored out with a Fire-brand the only Eye he had in the Middle of his Forehead, and the *Cyclop* having the next Day opened his Cave, to let out his Flocks, *Ulysses* placed his Companions under their
Bellies,

(a) *Virgil*, l. 2. calls them *Ætneæ fratres*.

(b) *Ferrum exercebant vasto Cyclopes in antro
Brontesque Steropesque & nudus membra Pyracmonæ ---
His informatum manibus jam parte polita
Fulmen erat, toto Genitor quæ plurima celo
Dejicit in terras, pars imperfecta manebat;
Tres imbris torvi radios, tres nubis aquosæ.
Addiderat, &c.*

Virg. Æn. 8. 425.

(1) *Æn.* l. 6. (2) In *Corinth*.

(c) *Monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum.*

Æn. l. 5.

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Bellies, and thus they got out without being perceived. 'Tis obvious that this Fable, when explained apart from the Marvellous, means, that *Ulysses* happily escaped out of the Hands of the *Cyclops*; tho' *Homer* might have brought him out of the Cave more ingeniously, unless the Poet means some Stratagem to which he has not thought fit to leave us the Key. These Adventures, fabulous as they are, have a Foundation in History; and this is what we have in our Eye. *Polyphemus* lived in the Time of *Ulysses*, and was King of *Sicily*, as we learn from *Diodorus*, and some other Authors (a). This Prince arrived there, and having captivated the Affections of *Elpe*, that *Cyclop's* Daughter, carried her off. The *Lestrigons*, who were other Inhabitants of that Island, took her from him by Force, and returned her to her Father. Further, these *Lestrigons* were a barbarous Race; and, if we may credit the Poets, both they and the *Cyclops* were real Cannibals, who devoured six of *Ulysses's* Companions. But the learned *Bochart* (1) will have the Rise of this Fable to be, that the *Lestrigons* were anciently called *Leontini*, a Name derived from their barbarous and cruel Manners (2); *Leontinis moribus*. *Homer* adds, that *Neptune*, offended at *Ulysses*, for having put out the Eye of his Son *Polyphemus*, sunk his Ship near the Island of the *Pbenicians*, where he however swam ashore with the Scarf which *Leucothoe* had given him.

When *Ovid* and *Theocritus* (b) represent *Polyphemus* in Love with the lovely *Galatea*, and *Acis's* Rival, telling us, that this hideous Giant buried that young Prince under a Rock which he pluck'd up by the Root, and that the Gods transformed him into a River, or rather into a River-God; this is a Romance, which I take to have no other Foundation but a poetical Fancy. Some Authors however are of Opinion, that *Acis* was a young Prince of *Sicily*, who was in Love with the beautiful *Galatea*, and that in Despair he threw himself into the

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River,

(a) See *Tzetzes*, in his *Chil. Diodorus*, &c.

(1) *Chan. l. 1. c. 26.* (2) *Idem ibid.*

(b) See also *Lucian*, and *Philophrastus*.

River, which from that Time has born his Name: Tho' the learned Author so often quoted (1), takes this Explanation to be itself a new Fable, and the River *Acis* to have had its Name from the Rapidity of its Streams.

If *Hesiod* says (2) the *Cyclops* were the Offspring of Heaven and Earth, it is because their true Original was unknown; and it was usual to make them the Offspring of the Earth, whose Genealogy was not known.

That they were considered as Giants, was owing, I believe, more to the monstrous Enormity of their Manners, than to any thing extraordinary in their Size or Stature; and, as for the gigantic Bones that are sometimes found in *Sicily*, which are said to be those of the ancient Inhabitants of that Island, I refer to what has been said on this Subject in the second Volume.

As *Ulysses* was also made to pass thro' the Straits of *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, 'tis proper to consider what may have given Rise to the Fables that were delivered on this

Occasion. *Ovid* says, *Scylla* was a beautiful Nymph, of whom *Glaucus*, a Sea-God, became enamoured; but not being able to make any Impression upon her, he had recourse to the Art of a certain Sorceress, named *Circe*. She herself, struck with *Glaucus's* Merit, resolved to punish him for being insensible to her, and to put to Death her Rival *Scylla*; and having composed a Poison, threw it into a Fountain, where the Nymph having come to bathe, was transformed into a Monster. *Homer* says, she had twelve Claws, six Mouths, and as many Heads; *Virgil* also gives the Description of her (a). We are further told, that she being frightened herself with the dreadful Howlings of the Dogs that kenneled in her Womb, threw herself into the Sea, near the Place where are the famous Straits that bear her Name; and thus she was avenged on *Circe*, by destroying the Ships

(1) Bochart loc. cit. (2) In Theog.

(a) *Prima hominis facies, et pulchra puellae Virgo
Pube tensus, postremo immani corpore Pisfix,
Delphinum caudas utero commissa leporum.*

Ships of *Ulysses* her Lover. 'Tis easy to see that this is a mere Romance; but it is made up of several real Adventures, which we must unfold.

There is between *Messina* and *Reggio* a very narrow Firth, where huge ragged Rocks jut out into the Sea, from the two opposite Shores. This Firth was called *Scylla* on the Side of *Reggio*, and *Charybdis* on the Side of *Messina* (a). In Proportion as you remove from this Place, the Rocks seem to meet together, and then the Ships that enter there seem swallowed up; which *Justin* very happily expresses after *Trogus Pompeius* (b). As the Currents there are extremely rapid, and the Water violently agitated in Gulfs and Whirlpools, a confused Noise is heard, not unlike to that of several Dogs barking together; and hence, according to the same Author, came the Fable of *Scylla*, her Transformation into a Monster, and her Howlings (c). Accordingly *Virgil* compares the Noise of the Waves breaking upon one another near a Rock, to the baying of Dogs;

Multis circum latrantibus undis (1).

Hence we may consider as new Fables, what some Authors have invented for explaining this, as when they say what gave Rise to it, was the Shipwreck of a Princess named *Scylla*, whom *Pausanias* (2) and *Virgil* (3) make to have been the Daughter of *Nisus* King of *Megara*, who perished in these Straits (d); or accord-

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ing

(a) *Dextrum Scylla latus, lævum implacata Charybdis*
Obsidet.

Æneid, l. 3.

(b) *Ea est procul insipientibus natura loci, ut finem maris, non transitum putes: quo cum accesseris, discedere ac sejungi promontoria, quæ antea juncta fuerant, arbitrere.*

Justin, l. 4.

(c) *Hinc fabula Scyllam & Charybdim peperere, hinc latratus auditus, hinc monstri credita simulacra, dum navigantes magnis vorticibus pelagi desidentis exterriti, latrare putant undas quas forbentis ætus vorago collidit.*

Id. Ibid.

(1) *Æn.* l. 7. (2) *Pausan.* in *Corinth.* (3) *Ecl.* 6.

(d) *Quid loquar aut Scyllam Nisi, quam fama secuta est*
Candida succinctum latrantibus inguina monstri
Dulichias vexasse rates, & gurgite in alto,
Ab! timidos nautas canibus lacevasse marinis.

Virg. loc. cit.

ing to *Lycophron* (1), it was a Daughter of *Pborcus*, who having stole from *Hercules* *Geryon's Oxen*, was put to Death by that Heroe; and her Father having put her Body upon the Pile, and refined it from its Mortality, she became a Divinity. We are not to place in the same Class what *Palephatus* says, that *Scylla* was a Ship of the *Tyrrhenians*, who laid waste the Coasts of *Sicily*, and which carried upon its Prow the monstrous Figure of a Woman whose Body was encompassed with Dogs Heads; that Author adds that *Ulysses* declined any Encounter with them, which gave Rise to all the Fables which *Homer* has vented in Relation to this Subject. *Eusebius*, to mention it by the Way, explains this Fable as *Palephatus* does; but still I am rather inclined to *Bochart's* Opinion, that the Name of the Straits of *Scylla* comes from a *Phœnician* Word *Sol*, which signifies *Ruin*, and that it was given to it upon Account of the frequent Shipwrecks that happened there; as that of *Charybdis*, which signifies *Gulph* (2), was given to the other Promontory upon Account of the Eddies there which sometimes swallowed up Ships (a); which is the more probable, that the Etymologies given by the *Greeks* to these two Straits, differ but little from this, since, according to them, *Scylla* imports *to spoil*, and *Charybdis*, *to swallow up*.

Again, when we are told that *Ulysses* slew the Monster, which gave Rise to this Fable, 'tis probably because this Heroe having happily passed the Straits of *Scylla*, it was afterwards reckoned a Place of less Danger, and Ships began to pass there with Confidence. *Homer*, who says this Monster swallowed up Ships, and afterwards threw them up, adds that *Tiresias* having warned *Ulysses* of this, he profited by his Advice, waiting till *Charybdis* should give him back the Mast of his Ship which was gone to the Bottom, by Means whereof he escaped Shipwreck,

As

(1) In *Caſſand.* (2) *Bochart*, l. i. c. 26.

(a) *Hiatus magnus profundoque sorbet navigia.*

Senec. de consol. animæ.

As *Homer* speaks at great length of this Heroe's Abode with *Circe*, I shall give her ^{The History} History in this Place. *Circe*, *Hesiod* tells us of *Circe*.

(1), was the Daughter of the Sun and *Perseis*, and Sister to *Pasiphae* the Wife of *Minos*; and the Sun, according to the same Author, was the Son of *Hyperion* and *Tbia*, the Offspring of Heaven and Earth. *Homer* adds (2) that she was Sister to *Æetes* King of *Colchus*, who lived in the time of the *Argonauts*, as has been said in speaking of the Expedition of those Heroes to the Conquest of the Golden Fleece. Some Authors, who reckon this Genealogy a Fable, will have it that this Princess passed for the Daughter of the Sun only upon Account of the great Knowledge she had of Plants and Medicine, whereof *Apollo*, or rather the Sun, was the God (a). Others, with *Diodorus*, take this Fiction to have no other Foundation but that her Grand-father was called *Ælius* or *Sol*.

Circe devoted herself to the Study of Herbs, wherein she succeeded so well as to find out several Remedies; but as she made Use of her secret Art in taking Revenge of her Enemies by Poison, hence she passed for a Sorceress. We are even told, that having married the King of the *Sarmatians*, or of the *Scythians*, she poisoned him; whereby she became so odious to her Subjects, that she was obliged to quit her Kingdom to retire to the Coasts of *Italy*, into the Place which from that time bore the Name of *Circe's* Promontory, upon the *Tuscan* Sea, now *Monte Circello* (b).

Apollonius assures us that *Apollo*, this Princess's Father, rescued her from the Hands of her Subjects, who were going to have killed her, and transported her in his Chariot to *Italy*; which imports that she happily made her Escape, and against all Probability, from the Vengeance of the *Scythians*, by Means of some Ship with Sails. But notwithstanding all these Authorities,
I am

(1) In Theog. (2) Odyss. l. 10.

(a) *Orpheus* makes her the Daughter of *Apollo* and *Asterope*.

(b) *Pr. prima Circeæ raduntur littora terras,
Dives inaccessos ubi Solis filia lacos
Assidue resonat cantu,*

Virg. Æn. l. 3.

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I am of Opinion that this Princess had no Connection with *Medea* who lived with her in the time of the *Argonauts*, but Resemblance of Character. I rely upon the Authority of *Strabo*, who very judiciously remarks that *Homer* having heard of *Jason's Expedition to Colchis*, and to the City *Æea*, which was the Capital thereof, and knowing all the Fables that had been vented concerning *Medea* and *Circe*, their Inchantments and Conformity of Manners, upon that Account makes them to be related, wherein he has been followed by *Onomacritus* and *Apollonius Rhodius*. And if the same *Homer* has transported the Seat of *Circe* to the middle of the Ocean, it was to add a greater Air of the marvellous to the Relation which *Ulysses* gives of his Adventures to the *Pheacians*, who loved Fiction, and were too ignorant to be capable of confuting him.

As *Circe* lived much about the Time of the *Trojan War*, 'tis credible enough that *Ulysses* arrived at her Palace, and that he actually fell in Love with her. This at least is the Sentiment of those who affirm that he had a Son by her named *Telegonus*. The Charms of this Princess having made him neglectful of his own Honour, as well as of his Companions, they plunged themselves into the Pleasures of a voluptuous Court; which makes *Homer* say she had transformed them into Swine: and what he adds of *Mercury's* giving that Prince an Herb named *Moly* (a) whereby he had evaded *Circe's* Charms, is to teach us that having at length recovered himself from his Remissness, he had given Counsel to his Companions to quit so dangerous an Abode. This Plant, so difficult to be found, according to *Homer*, is the Prudence which *Ulysses* exerted in extricating his Soldiers from the Seat of Voluptuousness; and it may be supposed that all the Transformations which *Homer*, *Ovid*, and the other Poets say this Princess wrought, were rather the Effects of her Charms and

(a) 'Tis probably wild Rue, whose Root is black, and the Flower white; which makes *Ovid* say:

Pasifer huic dederat florem Cyllenias album,
Moly vocant superi, nigra radice tenetur.

Met. l. 14.

and Beauty, than of her Magic, tho' *Horace* gives us plainly to understand (a) it was the Potions she gave that brought about these Wonders. *You have heard*, says he, *of the Songs of the Sirens, and of Circe's Potions. Had Ulysses, like his Companions, been so foolishly enslaved to his Passions as to drink of the intoxicating Cup of that Sorceress, he must have sunk himself into a beastly and sottish Life, like those impure Animals that delight to wallow in Mire and Dirt, under the Dominion of a base Prostitute.*

To support the Character of an Enchantress which they gave to *Circe*, they went the length of saying that she possessed the Art of drawing down the Stars from Heaven, to denote that Voluptuousness degrades the most exalted Minds; unless we chuse rather to say with *Bochart*, for Moralizings are very arbitrary, that the Fable of *Circe's* Enchantments came from the *Phenician* Word *Lat*, or *Latim*, which signifies Inchantment (1), whence the *Latins* were denominated Enchanters. *Bochart* had read in the Ancients that *Latium* abounded with Plants of a venomous Nature, and proper for making Spells and Enchantments, as may be seen in *Theophrastus* (2), *Strabo* (3), in the Scholiast on *Apollo* (4), and several others.

As the Princess we are now speaking of excelled in that Art, and greatly surpassed the other Inhabitants of that Country, this is undoubtedly what made her be reckoned the Daughter of *Apollo* the God of Medicine, a Branch of which is the Knowledge of Plants.

In short, what is more certain than any Thing else in this whole History is, that *Circe*, notwithstanding her Inchantments and depraved Morals, had divine Honours paid to her; and in the Time of *Cicero* she was

(a) *Sirenium voces, & Circes pocula nosti;
Quæ si cum sociis stultus cupidusque bibisset;
Sub domina meretrice fuisset turpis & ex: rs,
Vivisset canis immundus, vel amica luto fus.*

1. *Epil.* 2. 23.

(1) *Phapuanus* Chan. l. 1. c. 13. (2) *Hist. Plant.* (3) *L.* 5:
(4) *L.* 2.

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was still worshipped by the Inhabitants of the *Italian*
Coast, where she had fixed her Residence.

We may remark, after a learned Mythologist (1), that there were two *Circes* who came afterwards to be confounded; she whom *Diodorus*, after *Hesiod*, calls the Daughter of the Sun, was much more ancient than *Ulysses*, since she lived in the Time of the *Argonauts*, and was Sister to *Æetes*; she at whose Court *Ulysses* spent some Time, and who reigned over the Coasts of *Italy*, about the Time of the *Trojan War*, was the Daughter of the former *Circe*, the Grand-daughter of *Elius*, and Sister to *Æetes* the second. As few Authors distinguish these two *Circes*, and the two *Æetes*'s Kings of *Colchos*, no wonder that there is so much Obscurity in this ancient History. *Boccace*, who is the Mythologist I have in my Eye, had on his Side the Authority of *Theodotion*, whose Work is since lost. *Ovid* adds to all that has been now said, that *Circe* having fallen in love with *Picus* King of *Italy*, transformed him into a Magpye, as has been said in the History of the terrestrial Gods.

Ulysses, according to *Homer*, arrived also at the Court of *Calypso*, the Daughter of the *Ocean*, and of the ancient *Tethys*, or according to *Hyginus* (2) and *Tibullus*, of *Atlas*,

Fœcunda Atlantidos arva Calypsus.

Calypso reigned over the Island of *Ogygia*, in the *Ionian Sea*, better known by the Name of *Calypso*'s Island. This is what we read in *Homer*, *Pliny*, and *Tzetzes*; but *Hyginus* and *Mela* make her to have reigned near the Coasts of *Italy* in the Island of *Æea*, probably confounding her with *Circe* who dwelt there. *Homer* (3) tells us, in what manner *Calypso* received *Ulysses* upon his Return from the *Trojan Expedition*, and how she detained him for seven Years (a), offering him

(1) *Boccace*'s Genealogy of the Gods, l. 4. c. 14. (2) *Fab.* 125.

(3) *Odys.* l. 5.

(a) *Ovid* says she detained him but six Years, and *Hyginus* only one Year.

him even Immortality, if he would marry her; but this Prince not being capable of forgetting his dear *Penelope*, preferred his own Island of *Ithaca* to all the Proposals *Calypso* could make him; and *Mercury* being sent to her from *Jupiter*, she let him go: But not without shedding a Flood of Tears at his Departure, as may be gathered from this Verse in *Ovid*:

Ab quoties illum doluit properare Calypso (1).

What *Homer* says of this Goddess, as also of the Island that she inhabited, has always been reckoned a mere Fiction; and so fine an Occasion for moralizing and framing Allegories has not been neglected. *Pliny*, who places this Island (2) upon the Coasts of *Italy* that bordered with *Great Greece*, speaks of it in the following Manner:

“ The Island of *Ogygia*, so called by *Homer*, is the
 “ habitable Land in that whole Hemisphere which the
 “ Ancients believed to be surrounded on all Sides with
 “ the Ocean, for which Reason it is called *Navel*
 “ *Island* (3), that is, the middle of the Ocean. There
 “ he places *Calypso* the Daughter of *Atlas*, who knows
 “ the Foundations of the Ocean, and supports upon
 “ immense Pillars the Weight of Heaven and Earth.
 “ This is Nature herself, such as she appears in that
 “ Hemisphere; and *Homer* gives her the Name of a
 “ Woman very well known then, because there are
 “ many Things in Nature which she keeps concealed;
 “ the Word *καλύπτειν*, signifying *to conceal*.”

Bossu (4) raises another Allegory from it: *Calypso*, says he, as her Name implies, is the Goddess of *Secrecy*; at her Court *Ulysses* is concealed for seven Years, to denote that a great Politician never becomes completely so, but by a long Secrecy and Dissimulation. 'Tis in vain to enquire at present where the Island lay which this imaginary Goddess inhabited.

Ulysses, at departing from the Island of *Ogygia* or of *Calypso*, arrived in the Country of the *Pheacians*, who inhabited

(1) De Art. Aman. l. 2. (2) L. 3. (3) *Homer. Odyss* l. 1. v. 50. (4) *Treatise of the Epic Poem*.

inhabited the Island of *Corcyra* (1), in the *Ionian* Sea, and met upon the Sea-coast *Nausicaa* the Daughter of *Alcinous* King of the Island, who according to the Manner of those ancient Times, was coming to see the Lye Washing, and she introduced him to her Father. *Homer* brings in here the Intervention of the Gods, to set off an Adventure that has nothing in it but what is very common; and when he says his Heroe was shrouded with a Cloud that no body might perceive him, he means it was Night when he arrived at the Palace of that Prince.

The *Pheacians*, whom Commerce had enriched, lived in Opulence and Luxury, and nothing was to be seen among them but Dancings, Festivals, and continual Banqueting, where Musick commonly accompanied good Cheer, and where Songs often very loose, such as that which *Phemius* sings in the Presence of *Ulysses*, upon the Adultery of *Mars* and *Venus*, were the Concomitants of those kinds of Feasts. Nothing was more magnificent than the Gardens of *Alcinous*, with which Antiquity has brought into Comparison only those of *Adonis* and *Semiramis*. It was in this delightful Place *Ulysses* was received, for *Homer*, to give us a full View of his Heroe's Virtue, shews him to us in every Light: And here, after some stay, he embarked in the Ship which the King of the *Pheacians* equipped for him, and arrived at length at *Ithaca*, where having concealed himself with *Eumeus* one of his Domesticks, he concerted proper Measures to rid himself of some neighbouring Princes, who had been for twenty Years past making Court to his Wife *Penelope* (a), squandering away his Estate. The various Pretexts she made use of to amuse them till her Husband should return, gave rise to that famous Web which she undid by Night.

Ulysses having slain or put to flight all his Rivals, reigned in Peace, while *Telegonus*, whom he had by *Circé*, having arrived in the Island of *Ithaca* to see him,

(1) This is the Island of *Corfu*.

(a) See the four last Books of the *Odyssey*.

him, he endeavours to hinder his landing; and *Tele-
gonus* having struck him with a Spear, the End where-
of was made of a Sea-Tortoise named *Pastinace*, and
which according to *Pliny* is very venomous, he thus
lost his Life, as *Tiresias* had foretold him, when he
consulted him in Hell. His Son *Telemachus* ascended
the Throne.

HISTORY makes no mention of his Successors;
and, to say the Truth, I am of Opinion that were it
not for *Homer*, *Ithaca* and all that relates to it, would
be quite unknown to us. That Poet acquaints us far-
ther, that the young *Telemachus* went in quest of his
Father, and after having brought him in his Voyage
as far as *Sparta*, he leaves him there, that is, from
the fourth Book of the *Odyssey*, to *Ulysses's* Arrival at
Ithaca. 'Tis this Interval that M. de *Fenelon* has so
happily filled up in his *Telemachus*, one of the finest
Poems, and the most judicious that ever was writ.

Such is the History of *Ulysses*, which *Homer* has so art-
fully disguised by the Fables he has blended with it.

We have explained elsewhere the Adventures he had
at *Eolus's* Court, in the Island of the *Sirens*, his Des-
cent to Hell, and some others, but I have said nothing
hitherto of what befel him among the *Ciconians*, a
People of *Ithracia*, near the River *Hebrus*, whose capi-
tal City, named *Ismara*, he pillaged, and divided their
Spoils among his Companions: Nor of the Adventure
he had among the *Lotophagi* (a), a People of the Island
Geloe, near the Coasts of *Afric*, where he was obliged
to bind two of his Companions, whom the Fruit of
the *Lotos* had made to forget their Country; nor of
the unhappy Shipwreck he suffered at his Departure
from *Sicily*, by the Resentment of *Apollo*, who thus
avenged the Death of his Daughter *Lampetia* and *Phae-
tusa*; as also the Theft of his Companions who had
stole some Oxen that were consecrated to him; in
which Shipwreck our Heroe had perished, if he had
not

(a) So called because they eat of the Fruit of the *Lotos*, which
had a Quality to make those who eat of it to forget their
Country.

not swam as far as the Island of *Ogygia*. I have; I say, purposedly waved these Fables, whose Meaning, if they have any, is easy to be discovered; the Poet having exposed his Heroe to the Hatred of the Gods; and to the Dangers of three or four Shipwrecks, the better to illustrate his Valour and Prudence, and to make him still preserve, in the most enchanting Places, and amidst the most bewitching Charms of Pleasure, the Desire of returning into his Country, where his Presence was necessary, according to the End which the Poet has in his Eye, to redress the Disorder which his Family had fallen into thro' the Absence of its Master.

Ulysses after his Death was promoted to heroic Honours, and had even an Oracle in the Country of the *Eurithanians*, a People of *Etolia*, as we read in *Aristotle* quoted by *Tzetzes*, upon the 794th Verse of *Lycophron* (1). Among the Monuments of this Prince now remaining, there is a Medal of *Gorlay* representing him naked, holding a Pique in one Hand, with his right Foot upon a Wheel; near to him is a Pillar upon which is his Helmet.

The History of Penelope. *Penelope* was the Daughter of *Icarius*, who lived at *Athens* in the Time of *Pandion* II. of the Name. He is said to have

had *Bacchus* for his Guest, who, as a Reward for his Civility, taught him the Art of planting the Vine, and of making Wine. This Hospitality, to mention it by the Way, signifies that *Icarius* was among the first in adopting the Worship of *Bacchus*, which from his Time was introduced at *Athens*. *Penelope* his Daughter had offers of Marriage made her from several Princes of *Greece*; and her Father, to avoid Quarrels that might have happened, obliged them to contend for her in the Games which he made them celebrate; a thing very common in those Times. *Ulysses* was the Conqueror (2), and gained the Lady for his Prize.

Icarius, who had settled at that Time in *Sparta*, where this Marriage was solemnized, used his utmost Efforts

(1) *Grantmenil*, p 436. (2) *Pausan.* in *Lacon.*

Efforts to prevail upon his Son-in-law to stay with him, but all in vain. Despairing of being able to persuade him, he applied himself to his Daughter, conjured her not to forsake him ; and so soon as he saw her set out from *Sparta* to take Ship, he redoubled his Solicitations, and would needs follow her Chariot. *Ulysses* tired out at length with these Importunities, told his Wife that she might choose between her Father and her Husband, and that he left her at liberty either to go with him to *Ithaca*, or to return with her Father. *Penelope* blush'd at this Speech, and answered only by covering her Face with her Veil. *Icarius* who understood this dumb Language, let her go with her Husband ; but moved with the graceful Confusion he saw her in, he consecrated a Statue to *Modesty*, in the same Place where *Penelope* had put a Veil over her Face.

The World are so prepossessed in favour of *Penelope's* Virtue, that she is always considered as the most perfect Model of conjugal Love, and many People are highly offended with *Bayle* for having attacked her Character in his *Critical Dictionary* (1). I myself have been reflected upon for having said (2) that the Poets disguising the Characters of the Persons they spoke of, had made *Dido* a Lover abandoned to Despair, even her who was always faithful to the Memory of her first Husband *Sicheus* ; and *Penelope* a Model of Chastity, tho' many Authors tell us, she suffered herself to be debauched by some of her Lovers, who were always about her during the Absence of her Husband. One thing certain is, that *Pausanias* tells us (3) the Tradition of the *Arcadians* concerning this Princess did not agree with the Poets of *Thesprotia*. These gave out that after the Return of *Ulysses* she had a Daughter by him, who was called *Ptoliportbe*, a Name given her because she had been born after the taking of *Troy*. But the *Mantineans* contended, that being accused by her Husband of having herself introduced Disorder

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into

(1) Art. of *Penelope*. (2) Expl. des Fab. T. 3. (3) In *Arcad*.

into his Family, she had been expelled by him, and that she repaired first to *Sparta*, and from that to *Mantineia*, where she ended her Days. The *Mantineans* were probably in the Right, for the Tomb of this Princess was actually among them, which stood in a small Plain, at the Foot of the Mountain, where the Town of *Mantineia* formerly was. How could she have been buried there, had she always lived and died at *Ibaca*? And why would she have been banished *Ibaca*, had not her Deportment during her Husband's long Absence, obliged him to inflict that Punishment upon her at his Return?

C H A P. VI.

The History of Antenor and Eneas.

I Join here the History of these two *Trojans*, because they are thought to have been Traitors to their Country, and to have had much the same Adventures; and if the latter is much more renowned than the former, it is owing to *Virgil's* having thought fit to make a Heroe of him, and immortalize his Memory by his *Eneid*.

Antenor was suspected for having favoured the *Greeks*, because he entertained their Deputies when they came to redemand *Helen*, and he was thought to have known *Ulysses*, at the Time he entered *Troy* to carry off the *Palladium*, without having discovered him, as he ought to have done. If we add to this what we are told by some of the Ancients, and the *Iliac* Table authorises it, that in the Night wherein that City was sack'd, the *Greeks* set a Guard upon his Palace to save it from being pillaged; and that in the midst of his Enemies, he quietly took Ship to pursue his Fortune elsewhere, it will appear that the Suspicion of his Treachery was but too well founded (1). Be that as it will, *Antenor* arrived with his small Fleet, by the *Adriatic* Sea, in that part of *Italy* which constitutes at present the State of *Venice*, and there built the City of *Padua*. This Article

(a) See *Tzetzes* upon *Lycophron*, *Diæys* of *Crete*, &c.

title of the History of those Times is one of the most certain. *Pliny* (1) in Confirmation of it has recourse to the Authority of *Cato*, who asserted it in his Book of *Origines*: *Venetos Trojana stirpe ortos Author est Cato*. *Virgil* says so expressly (a), and *Titus Livius* asserts (2), that the Place where *Antenor* landed, got the Name of *Troy*, as also a Village which was in the Neighbourhood of it. To these Authorities we may add ancient Monuments, and established Tradition. *Tacitus* (3) informs us, that it was believed in his Time, that the Games celebrated at *Padua* had been instituted by this *Trojan*; and some Authors maintain that the Bonnet of the Doges of *Venice*, is made after the Model of those of the ancient *Phrygians*. *Antenor*, to establish himself in that part of *Italy*, entered directly into an Alliance with the *Henetes*, the present *Venetians*; and with their Assistance expelled the *Eganians*, and built the City which we have been now speaking of.

Some Authors are of Opinion that *Eneas* escaped from *Troy* by the Intelligence he had with the Enemy: And, on the other Hand, this Heroe, who is commonly reckoned the Founder of the *Roman Empire*, is become so famous by the fine Poem which *Virgil* has composed upon his Adventures, that the Reader will not be displeased to be determined which Side of the Question to choose.

Tros the King of *Troy* had two Sons, *The History of*
Ilus and *Assaracus*; the latter had a Son *Anchises*
 named *Capys*, who was Father to *Anchises*, and Grand-
 father to *Eneas*; thus he was of the Blood Royal by
 the Father's Side (4); and in the Opinion of most of
 the Ancients, the Goddess *Venus* was his Mother. No-
 thing

X 2

(1) L. 3. c. 13.

(a) *Antenor potuit mediis elapsus Achivum
 Illyricos penetrare finus; atque intima tutus
 Regna Liburnorum, & fontem superare Timavi.
 Hic tamen ille urbem Patavi, sedesque locavit
 Taurorum, & genti nomen dedit, armaque fixit
 Troia ———*

Æn. l. 1. v. 246, & 251.

(2) L. 1. c. 1. (3) L. 16. c. 21. (4) *Homer. Iliad.* l. 20.

thing is so famous among the Poets, as the Commerce of *Anchises* with this Goddess (1); but probably this Fable was invented to cloak some Piece of Gallantry, and to calm the Jealousy of *Anchises's* Wife, who saw him too often frequent the Banks of the River *Simois*, where he was probably smitten with the Charms of some Shepherdess, who was perhaps denominated *Venus* upon Account of her Beauty. It would seem that she was that *Venus*, whom *Homer* makes to have been the Daughter of *Dione* (2), and who is mentioned by *Cicero* (3). The Poets add that *Venus* enjoined her Gallant not to speak of this Adventure; but that he not being able to keep the Secret, was struck with Thunder, by which *Servius* says he lost his Sight; others say the Wound he received thereby never could be closed up (a). What gave rise to this Fable, by the Way, is that anciently Thunder was considered as the most dreadful Instrument of the Vengeance of the Gods; and those who were struck with it, were reckoned a kind of excommunicated Persons; whence *Anchises* was looked upon as the Object of the Wrath of the Gods, as *Virgil* gives us to understand in the following Lines:

*Jam pridem invisus Divis & inutilis annos
Demoror, ex quo me Divum pater atque hominum Rex
Fulminis afflavit ventis & contigit igne.*

Æn. l. 2. v. 647.

Grown to my Friends an useless heavy Load,
Long here I liv'd, abhor'd by every God;
Since, in his Wrath, high Heav'n's Almighty Sire,
Blasted these Limbs with his avenging Fire.

Pitt's Æneid.

Anchises however lived till the Age of eighty Years, and was buried, according to *Eusebius* (4), upon Mount

(1) Idem Hymn. upon *Venus* Virg. &c. (2) *Il.* l. 1. 9. (3) *De Nat. Deor.* l. 3.

(a) Consult for all this the learned *Meziriac* upon *Ovid*, or *Bayle* who has copied him in his *Critical Dictionary*, Art. *Anchises*.

(4) Upon the 22 of the *Iliad*.

Mount *Ida*. Opinions however are very much divided on this Head : *Virgil* makes him to have died at *Drepana* in *Sicily* ; *Pausanias* in *Arcadia* ; *Diomysius* of *Halicarnassus* and others, bring him as far as *Italy*, where he ends his Days.

Eneas his Son was educated in the Coun- try till he was put under the Direction of a Governor, and some Years after, *Priam* gave him his Daughter *Creusa* in Marriage, by whom he had a Son named *Iulus*, or *Ascanius* (a). The History of Eneas.

As *Homer* is the most ancient Author who has spoken of this Prince, 'tis in the *Iliad* we are to seek for his Character, and to learn what he did at the Siege of *Troy*. The celebrated *F. Hardouin*, is even of Opinion that he is the true Heroe of the Poem now mentioned, which, according to him, was only composed to flatter the Kings of *Troas*, *Eneas's* Descendants, who were still reigning in the Time of that Poet, who being an *Ionian* must have known them. In a Word, the *Iliad*, according to this learned Author, was nothing but the History of the Fall of the eldest Branch of the *Trojan* Kings, that is, of *Laomedon* and *Priam*, to which the youngest Branch, or that of *Asseracus*, must have succeeded, from whom *Eneas* descended, as has been already said in the Article that relates to the Succession of the Kings of *Troy*.

Among the Atchievements of *Eneas*, during the Siege, as they are related by the Poet, he says he fought with *Achilles*, but that *Neptune* carried him off from the Combat ; and I am of Opinion, to mention it by the Way, that what had given a Handle to this Fiction, was, that the Combat between *Achilles* and *Eneas* having lasted the whole Day, Night put an End to it, or rather some Feast of *Neptune* obliged them to suspend it. *Eneas* distinguished himself, especially in the Night that

X 3

(a) The Poet *Lescheus*, and the Author of the *Cypriacs*, give *Eneas* to Wife *Eurydice*, as we are told by *Pausanias* in *Phoc.* but the most common Opinion is that he had *Creusa* the Daughter of *Priam* ; and as she died in the Burning of *Troy*, the Poets gave out that the Mother of the Gods, and *Venus*, had carried her away from the Greeks. Vid. *Pausanias* loc. cit.

that the City was taken, when, without dwelling upon all that *Virgil* tells us to this Purpose (1), rather in a poetical than an historical Manner, *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* says, he entered into the Citadel of *Ilium*, and defended it to the last; that when he saw it was impossible to save it, he let out the Women, the old Men and Children by a Back-Door, and then came out himself with his Garrison, fighting his Way thro' the Enemy till he came to Mount *Ida*, which was the Place of Rendezvous; that he there formed a little Army of those who were able to bear Arms; and the *Greeks* not daring to venture a Battle, made a Treaty with them, by which they were permitted to march off. *Eneas* fitted out a Fleet of twenty Ships near the City *Antandros*, at the Foot of Mount *Ida*, in which having embarked, he first arrived in *Tbrace*, where he founded the City *Ænia*, and peopled it with those whom he could most easily spare.

Setting out from thence he made the Island of *Delos*, where *Anius* the high Priest of *Apollo* gave him a favourable Reception (a). After this having coasted along the Island of *Cythera*, he arrived at a Cape of the *Peloponnesus*, which he called *Cynetium*; from the Name of one of his Companions who was buried there; and having entered *Greece*, he quitted the Fleet, to go and consult the Oracle of *Jupiter* at *Dodona* (b). It was there he found his Brother-in-law *Helenus*, who was reputed in that Country a great Prophet. Arrived in the Country of the *Salentines*, where *Idomeneus* come from *Crete*, established his new Colony, he would have continued his Course by the Fare of *Messina*, but he was obliged to put in to *Sicily*, where he assisted *Eli-mus* and *Egestus* who also came from *Pbrygia*, in building two Towers of their own Name, leaving with them those of the Ship's Crew, whom the Fatigue of the Voyage and old Age had rendered useless to him.

In

(1) *Eneid*. l. 2. & 3.

(a) We shall give afterwards the History of this *Anius* and his Daughters.

(b) *Eneas* was very superstitious; but *Virgil* gives him always the Designation of *Pious*.

Chap. VI. explained by HISTORY. 311

In fine, having departed from that Island, he happily arrived at *Laurentum* upon the Coasts of *Tyrrhenia*, near the Mouth of the *Tyber*, in the Country of the *Aborigines* (1). These People, frightened at the Arrival of a Fleet man'd by Strangers, assembled under the Command of their King *Latinus*; but that Prince having been informed of the Motive that brought them into his Dominions, and that they were *Trojans*, who under the Conduct of *Aeneas* the Son of *Venus* and *Anchises* were in Quest of some Place where they might settle and found a City, after the burning of their own, as the Oracles had prescribed to them; being farther informed that their Leader was a Man of Wisdom and Piety, who was carrying with him his Houshold Gods; viewing besides, with a Mixture of Astonishment and Awe, an illustrious Nation, the History of whole Misfortunes was already known, and a Heroe their Commander, who was indeed disposed to treat with him amicably; but at the same time determined to have Recourse to Force, if he could not otherwise compass his Design, he himself made up to *Aeneas*, gave him his Hand in Token of Friendship, and the two Armies united. The Remembrance of an Oracle, and we know how far Predictions made Impression upon Peoples Minds at that Time, which had foretold *Latinus* the Arrival of some Strangers, whose Leader was to be his Son-in-law, was the principle Cause of the Advances he made to *Aeneas*. He conducted him to his Palace; and in order to confirm by the strictest Ties the Alliance which he had made with him, and to unite the two Nations for ever, he gave him in Marriage in a short time after *Lavinia*, his only Daughter and the Heiress of his Crown. *Aeneas*, with the Assistance of his Father-in-law and the *Latins*, built at that time a City which he called *Lavinium*, from the Name of his Wife, by whom he had a Son named *Ascanius*.

In the mean time this Match brought upon the *Trojans* and *Aborigines* a common Enemy. *Lavinia* before *Aeneas*'s Arrival had been promised to *Turnus* King of the *Ru-*

(1) Dionys. of Halic. l. 1.

Italians, who inhabited the Maritime Part of *Campania*, near the Place where *Rome* was afterwards built. This Prince, young and ambitious, Nephew to Queen *Amata Latinus's* Wife, enraged that a Stranger should be preferred to him, declared War upon his Rival, and gave him Battle, which cost both Sides dear. The *Rutuli* indeed were routed, but it cost *Latinus* his Life, who commanded in Person with his Son-in-law. *Aeneas* being sole Master of his Father-in-law's Dominions, omitted nothing to prevent the new Efforts which *Turinus* was making to repair this Loss; especially when he understood that he had struck up an Alliance with the *Etrurians*, whose Power was then very formidable.

Mezentius who was their King, kept his Court at *Cere*, a wealthy City, and one of the strongest in the Country. As that Prince, according to *Titus Livius*, had always looked with an evil Eye upon the *Trojan* Colony, and considered the rising Power of those Strangers as a just Ground of being alarmed for himself and his Neighbours, he made no Difficulty of joining with the *Rutuli*. In the mean Time *Aeneas*, destitute of Assistance, in a Country where he had but new settled, finding that he had Occasion to be strictly united with the *Aborigines* to sustain the Storm with which he saw himself threatned, considered how this might best be effected. For that End he resolved henceforth to incorporate that People and the *Trojans* who followed him into one State, governed by the same Laws, under the Name of the *Latin* People. This Piece of Policy succeeded, and thereby he so gained the Affections of the *Aborigines*, that they were for ever after as faithful, and as much attached to him as the *Trojans* themselves. *Aeneas*, strengthened by this Union, would not wait to receive the Enemy in the City: he took the Field, and the two Armies being very soon met, he fought a bloody Battle, wherein he lost his Life.

His Body not being found, it having probably fallen into the River *Numicus*, near which the Battle was fought, it was given out that *Venus* having purified him in the Water of that River, had promoted him to
the

the Rank of the Gods. A Tomb was erected to him upon the Banks of the River, a Monument which was still subsisting in the time of *Titus Livius*, and where Sacrifices were offered to him afterwards under the Name of *Jupiter Indiges*. This Heroe died at the Age of thirty eight Years, and reigned only three. His Son *Ascanius* succeeded him, and built the famous City *Alba*, where his Descendants reigned over the *Latin* Territory, until *Numitor*, *Romulus's* Grand-Father.

The Kingdom of *Alba*, according to *Arnobius*, lasted 420 Years, or 432, according to *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, under fourteen Kings. *Aeneas* reigned three Years, his Son *Ascanius* 38, partly in *Lavinium*, and partly in *Alba*, to which he transferred the Seat of the Empire. After his Death search was made every where for his Mother-in-law *Lavinia*, who had concealed herself in a Forest where she was delivered of a Son, who from thence got the Name of *Sylvius*, which the Kings of *Alba* thought it their Honour to assume afterwards: he was also surnamed *Posthumus*, because he was born after his Father's Death, *Iulus* the Son of *Ascanius* disputed the Crown with that young Prince; but the *Latins* obliged him to drop his Pretensions, and invested him with the Office of high Priest, which continued a long time in this Prince's Family. *Sylvius* reigned 29 Years, and his Son *Aeneas Sylvius* 31. *Latinus*, who succeeded him, reigned 50. *Alba* 29. *Capetus* 26, *Capis* 28, *Calpetus* 30, *Tyberinus* 8. It was from this Prince's having drowned himself in the *Albula* that it got the Name of the *Tyber*, which it has gone by ever since that time. *Agrippa* reigned 41. To him succeeded the Tyrant *Alladius*, equally detested by Gods and Men, for having usurped divine Honours; he was punished for his Impiety, and drowned himself in a Pond, after a Reign of 19 Years. *Aventinus*, who derived his Name to the *Aventine* Mount, was in Possession of the Crown thirty seven Years; *Procas* twenty nine; *Amulius*, who supplanted his Brother *Numitor*, reigned 42 Years, until *Romulus* his Grandson, and the

Son

Son of *Rhea Sylvia* his Niece, put him to Death, and re-established his Grand-Father upon the Throne of *Alba*, whereof he was the last King; tho' this City stood till the time of *Tullus Hostilius* the third King of *Rome*, who demolished it after the Defeat of the *Curia's* (a): thus *Aeneas*, as we see, precedes *Romulus* by 450 Years.

Before *Aeneas*, there had been five Kings in *Latium*, *Janus*, *Saturnus*, *Picus*, *Faunus* and *Latinus*, whose Reigns, if we may believe *Eusebius*, had lasted 150 Years (b). Their History is full of Fables, and we know nothing in that Country more ancient than *Janus*. This is what appears most probable in the History of *Aeneas*; and all the rest is only to be looked upon as Embellishments. Upon the whole, I have followed the most common Opinion; *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, and *Titus Livius*, who are more conform to *Virgil*, have been my Guides. I am not ignorant that in this Article, as well as most others of the fabulous Age, Authors vary prodigiously. There are some of them who, in order to deprive the *Romans* of the Glory of having had this illustrious Leader of the *Trojans* for their Founder, contend that *Aeneas* never came into *Italy* (c): That he reigned in *Troas*, according to the Prediction which *Homer* mentions in his *Iliad*.

That Poet, speaking of the Combat in which *Aeneas* was like to have perished by *Achilles's* Hand, says:

*Achilles, rushing in with dreadful Cries,
Draws his broad Blade, and at Aeneas flies:
But Ocean's God, whose Earthquakes rock the Ground,
Saw the Distress, and mov'd the Pow'rs around.
Lo! on the Brink of Fate Aeneas stands,
An instant Victim to Achilles' Hands:*

By

(a) See *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, l. 1. *Titus Livius*, l. 1.

(b) See for the ancient People of *Italy*, the Dissertations of *Theodorus Ricius*.

(c) To this Purpose may be seen the Dissertation of the learned *Rechart*: it is in *M. Segrais's* Translation of the *Eneid* into French Verse, who knew not what Answer to give to it; but *Theodorus Ricius* has both fully answered that, and *Cluverius* in his Dissertation on the ancient People of *Italy*, Chap. 12. to which I refer the Reader.

By Phoebus urg'd; but Phoebus has bestow'd
His Aid in vain: The Man o'erpow'rs the God.
And can ye see this righteous Chief atone
With guiltless Blood, for Vices not his own?
To all the Gods his constant Vows were paid;
Sure, tho' he wars for Troy he claims our Aid.
Fate wills not this; nor thus can Jove resign
The future Father of the Dardan Line:
The first great Ancestor obtain'd his Grace,
And still his Love descends on all the Race,
For Priam now, and Priam's faithless Kind,
At length are odious to th' all-seeing Mind;
On great Æneas shall devolve the Reign,
And Sons succeeding Sons the lasting Line sustain.
The great Earth-shaker thus: to whom replies
Th' imperial Goddess with the radiant Eyes,
Good as he is, to immolate or spare
The Dardan Prince, O Neptune, be thy Care;
Pallas and I, by all that Gods can bind,
Have sworn Destruction to the Trojan Kind;
Not ev'n an Instant to protract their Fate
Or save one Member of the sinking State;
Till her last Flame be quench'd with her last Gore,
And ev'n her crumbling Ruins are no more.

The King of Ocean to the Fight descends,
Thro' all the whistling Darts his Course he bends,
Swift interpos'd between the Warriours flies,
And casts thick Darkness o'er Achilles' Eyes.
From great Æneas' Shield the Spear he drew,
And at its Master's Feet the Weapon threw:
That done, with Force divine he snatch'd on high
The Dardan Prince, and bore him thro' the Sky,
Smooth-gliding without Step, above the Heads
Of warring Heroes, and of bounding Steeds.

Pope's Iliad. xx. 341.

This formal Passage is very considerable, and of great Weight to demolish the Pretensions of the Romans, who valued themselves on that chimerical Concept of being descended from Æneas; for unless we allow

low what I remark elsewhere, that *Homer*, who was an *Ionian*, puts this Prediction into *Neptune's* Mouth, for no other Reason, in all Probability, but because he saw the Posterity of *Aeneas* still in Possession of the Throne of the *Trojans*; would he ever have made *Neptune* speak so, who was their declared Enemy?

Thus all that the Historians have written of *Aeneas's* Voyage to *Italy*, may be looked upon as Romance, that has no other Tendency but to over throw historical Truth, since the most ancient of these is several Ages later than *Homer*, while that Poet lived only 260 Years, or thereabouts, after the taking of *Troy*, and wrote in some of the Cities of *Ionia*, in the Neighbourhood of *Phrygia*, or at no great Distance from it. Accordingly some Historians before *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* having perceived the Force of this Passage in *Homer*, would needs explain it in a Consistency with this Fable, by saying that *Aeneas* after having been in *Italy*, returned to *Troy*, and there left his Son *Ascanius*. *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, not satisfied with this Solution, which appears to him improbable, has taken another Method to preserve to the *Romans* the Glory of being descended from *Venus's* Son, by saying that by these Words, *He shall reign over the Trojans*, *Homer* meant he shall reign over the *Trojans* whom he shall carry with him into *Italy*. *Might not Aeneas*, says he, *have reigned over the Trojans when he carried into Italy, tho' settled elsewhere?*

This Historian, who wrote in *Rome* itself, and under the Eye of *Augustus*, was willing to make his Court to that Prince, by explaining this Passage of *Homer* so as to favour the wild Notion with which he was intoxicated. This is a just Ground of Reproach against him; for that Poets should flatter Princes by their Fictions is no wise surprizing; but for Historians to corrupt the Gravity and Severity of History to substitute Fable and Falshood in the Room of Truth, is a Fault not to be pardoned. *Strabo* acts a much better Part; for though he wrote his Geography about the Beginning of *Tiberius's* Reign, yet he has the Courage to explain this Passage

ner, and to assert (1), that this Poet says, and would
is to understand that Æneas remained at Troy, that
ned there, all Priam's Race having been extinct,
at he left the Crown to his Children after him. 'Tis
is to take Notice here of the pleasant Correction

Strabo tells us some Criticks had made upon Ho-
Tex by reading, πάντεςσι, instead of τρῶεςσι; be
ign over all the World, instead of he shall reign
he Trojans; as if Homer had known and foretold
t Time that the Empire of the whole World was
sed to the Family of Æneas; the Flattery to Au-
in this is too discernable.

ain there was another Tradition, perhaps of equal
rity with that which I have now delivered, ac-
g to which it was a Question whether Ascanius,
ucceeded Æneas in Italy, was the Son of Lavinia,
t other Prince of the same Name whom he had
ensa, who followed his Father in his Expeditions,
ho was surnamed Iulus. However, it was from
ft, the Grandson of Venus, that the Romans va-
n themselves on being descended, and from whom
ulian Family boasted to have derived its Name
riginal.

other Tradition again is what Conon follows (2).
the Destruction of Troy, says he, Æneas, to a-
alling into the Hands of the Greeks, repaired to
t Ida; but scarcely had he settled there, when he
riven thence by Eytius and Scamander the Sons of
r, who obliged him to go and seek his Fortune
where else, and reigned in his Stead. What is
lar in this Narration of Conon, is that he names
f Hector's Sons of whom we know little or no-
, none of the Ancients having mentioned any Son
is, but Astyanax.

her Authors, so great Diversity is there among
Ancients as to this Article, will have it that Æneas
nade Prisoner by Pyrrhus, and that after the Death
s Conqueror, he repaired to Macedonia: there are
Authors who tell us farther that Æneas was ab-
sent

sent when *Troy* was taken, and that *Priam* his Father-in-law had sent him into *Italy* with some Troops: Some alledge, as has been said, that *Aeneas* betrayed the City *Troy*, from the Hatred he bore to *Priam*, who used him ill. *Servius* (1) mentions this Treachery after *Titus Livius*, among whose Works, as they are now extant, this Passage is not to be found: Others write that he died in *Thrace* or in *Arcadia*: Others, in fine, that *Turnus* slew *Aeneas*, and that *Ascanius* avenged his Father by killing *Turnus*.

'Tis impossible to reconcile Sentiments so opposite, and it would be no Reconciliation of them in earnest to say with *Tryphiodorus* (2), that *Venus* had transported *Eneas* thro' the Air into *Italy*. Let us therefore leave the *Romans* in Possession of their Claim, nor envy them the Glory of being descended from *Venus* and *Eneas*.

But before I close this Chapter, I am still to explain other Fables that are interwove with the History of the Prince now in Question. We begin with that of his Amour with *Elisa*, so celebrated under the Name of *Dido*. She was the Daughter of *Belus* II. King of *Tyre* in *Phenicia*. *Pygmalion* her Brother ascended the Throne after the Death of his Father (a), and *Elisa* was married to *Sicharbas* (b) the Priest of *Heracles*, her Mother's Brother, who was possessed of immense Riches; but which the Fear of the covetous *Pygmalion* obliged him to keep so secret, that he was only conjectured to be so rich. This however was enough to inflame the Avarice of the King, who without regard to the Ties of Blood which united them, cruelly murdered him.

Elisa, dissembling her Resentment, gave out that she was desirous to leave a Place which served only to re-

(1) In 2d *Encid.* (2) Poem upon the taking of *Troy*.

(a) Here is the Order of her Genealogy: *Jupiter Epaphus*, *Libya*, *Belus* I. *Agenor*, *Phenix*, *Belus* II. or *Mitres*, *Pygmalion* and *Dido*.

(b) This is *Virgil's* *Sichæus*.

new her Grief, and to go and live with *Pygmalion* (a). He presuming she would bring with her the Treasure of her Husband, sent her a Ship and a Convoy; but having set sail, she had the Precaution to lodge in the Ship some Bales loaded with Sand; and having given out that she was going to sacrifice to the Manes of her Husband whatever was most dear to her in the World; she threw them into the Sea, telling the Soldiers it was the Money of the unfortunate *Sicbarbas*, and that consequently there was no other Resource for them but to fly with her, since *Pygmalion*, if he found them come without *Sicbarbas's* Treasures, would put them all to Death; which obliged them to go and seek a Sanctuary from the Persecutions of that Prince. They first landed in *Cyprus*, whence *Dido* carried off fifty young Virgins, whom she gave in Marriage to her Companions in the Expedition. The Wind drove them afterwards upon the Coasts of *Africa*, where that Princess raised a Citadel, near which the City *Carthage* was afterwards built, so great was the Concourse of People and Merchants who arrived there from all Quarters. A Fable was afterwards trump'd up, which I must explain here. We are told that *Dido* bought from the Inhabitants of the Country as much Ground as a Bull's Hide could cover; upon which she cut down a Hide into many Thongs, which encompassed a Quantity of Ground sufficient to build a Citadel upon, which from thence was called *Byrsa*, that is, a *Bull's Hide*; but this Fable is owing to the *Greeks*, who pretended to find in their Language the Etymology of all Antiquities, not knowing that *Bostra*, or *Botbrab*, in the *Phenician* Language imports a Citadel (1); thus instead of saying simply that *Dido* built a Citadel, having found this barbarous

(a) We must not confound, as *Ovid* has done, this King of *Tyre*, with another *Pygmalion* the King of *Cyprus*, who having made a fine Statue which he fell in love with himself, and *Venus* having animated it, he begot upon it *Paphus*, who built the City *Paphos* in *Cyprus*, and the Temple of *Venus*, which has been so much talked of; a Fable which has no other Foundation, but that he gained the good Graces of some Beauty whom he was in love with.

(1) Bochart. Chan. l. 1. c. 14. Voßius de Idol. l. 1. c. 3.

barbarous Word in the Annals which they read, and not knowing its Signification, they translated it by that of *Byrsa*, which having no Sense in this Place, they framed the Commentary now mentioned. We are told further, that those who dug the Foundations of this Citadel, found there a Horse's Head, which they reckoned a Presage of its future Grandeur; another Fable, if we may believe *Bochart*, founded upon this Citadel's being named *Cacabé*, a Word which in the Language of the *Phenicians* signifies a Horse (a).

After the *Phenicians*, whom *Dido* led into this Part of *Africa*, had made this Settlement there, they would needs compel the Queen to marry *Iarbas* King of *Mauritania*, who had declared War upon them, and she fought three Months to consider of it. During that Time, having erected a funeral Pile, as if by some Sacrifice she had been to appease the Manes of her former Husband, she stabb'd herself with a Poniard, whereof she died. This Action made her get the Name of *Dido*, which imports *valiant Woman*, and by a strange Reverse of History, *Virgil*, instead of representing her as a Woman who killed herself, rather than marry a second Husband, makes her so much in love with *Eneas*, that his Departure drove her to Despair.

But what is farther remarkable, he makes an Anachronism of near 300 Years, which has been already often observed, for there is no less an Interval between *Eneas* and *Dido*; and tho' there are several Opinions as to the Time when she lived (b), 'tis agreed that she was later than the *Trojan* Heroe by some Ages, and nobody doubts of *Virgil's* Anachronism: *Troy* having been taken in the Time of the Judges, and *Pygmalion*, *Dido's* Brother, not having come into the World till the Reign of *Joram* King of *Judab*. Accordingly *Bochart* (c) makes *Dido* to have been Aunt to the famous

(a) *Bochart*. loc. cit. adds that the Name of *Carthage* comes from *Cacabé*.

(b) *Sil. Ital.* de Bell. Punic. lib. 1. *Velleius Paterc.* l. 1. *Appian* in *Libycis*, &c.

(c) See *Maziriac* upon the Epistle of *Dido* to *Eneas*, and the *Telemaque*. p. 77. *l.* 5. *l.* 34.

is *Jezebel* whom *Abaz* married, and who brought many Calamities upon the Kingdom of *Israel*. But, by something more precise, *Dido* left the Kingdom *Tyre*, in the seventh Year of *Pygmalion's* Reign, 247 Years after the taking of *Troy*, and 953 Years before *Christ*.

her Subjects after her Death ascribed divine Honours to her, and instituted to her religious Worship (a). According to *Ovid* she had paid the same Honours to her Husband *Sichæus*.

The History of the Daughters of *Anius*, at whose Court *Eneas* resided for some Time, and who, according to *Ovid*, were transformed into Pigeons, requires to have the Fable of it explained.

Anius King of *Delos*, and also High-Priest of *Apollo* was of the Family of *Cadmus* on the Side of his Mother *Rheo*, the Daughter of *Staphilus*, who claimed *Cadmus* for his Father. *Rheo* having had some Intrigue

her Father exposed her upon the Sea in a little Boat, in which she arrived at *Delos*, where she was married to *Anius*, who by his Marriage with *Doripe*, three Daughters extremely frugal, and who laid up a great Store of Offerings that were brought to the Temple of *Apollo*. The *Greeks*, during the Siege of *Troy*, sent *Palamedes* to ask Provisions from *Anius*, and begged him even to give his Daughters Hostages. These Princesses however found a Way to make their escape; which gave occasion to say that *Bacchus* had transformed them to Pigeons. As to what is alleged that they turned every thing they touched into Wine, Corn and Oil, it was founded, in the Opinion of the learned *Bochart*, upon the Etymologies of the Names of these three Virgins, *Æno*, *Spermo*, and *Elais*, which may refer to the Wine, Corn, and Oil, that were offered for ordinary to *Apollo*, and whereof they laid up a Store that were of great Service to the *Athenian* Army.

COL. IV.

Y

As

a) See his Epistle to M. Segrain's *Loco cit.*

b) *Rex Anius, Rex idem hominum Phœbique sacerdos.* Virg. l. 3.

c) *Diod. l. 7.*

As to what *Virgil* says, that *Eneas* upon his Arrival in *Italy* went to consult the *Sibyl* who conducted him to Hell, this is only an Episode of that Poet's Invention, to embellish his Poem; and we will not resume here, what has been said of those famous Prophetesses in the first Volume (1). There occur however some other Fables in the History of *Eneas*, which are neither important, nor difficult to be explained. The first is that of the City *Ardea*, which is said to have been transformed into a Bird (2); the Foundation whereof is that *Eneas's* Troops having set Fire to that City, the Capital of the *Rutuli*, it was given out to be metamorphosed into that Bird which bears the same Name with the City (3). It appears to have been afterwards rebuilt, since we learn from *Titus Livius*, that it was still subsisting in the Time of the *Tarquins*.

The second is that of *Eneas's* Ships transformed into Nymphs by *Cybele* (4), but this is only another Episode to embellish the History of this Heroe; for the Truth is that *Turnus* set Fire to them, to cut off from his Enemy all Means of escape: And because they would needs have every thing that concerned this Founder of the *Roman* Empire to be marvellous, hence *Virgil* took a Handle from those Ships being made of Firr consecrated to *Cybele*, to say that Goddess, to revenge the Affront offered to her thereby, had transformed them into Sea-Nymphs.

The third is that of the White Sow that pointed out to *Eneas* the Place of his Settlement. After the following Manner is the Story related by *Diomysius of Halicarnassus* (5), and *Titus Livius* (6). *Eneas* having learned from the Oracle of *Dodona*, or according to others from the *Sibyl*, that he was to stop at the Place where a white Sow should bring forth her young; when this Prince had arrived in *Italy*, and was preparing to offer a Sacrifice in order to get farther Insight into his Destiny, the Sow that was to have been sacrificed, escaped out of the Sacrificer's Hands, and fled

(1) L. 5. (2) Ovid. Met. l. 14. (3) *Ardea*. (4) Virg. l. 9.
(5) Ant. Rom. l. 1. (6) L. 1.

fled towards the Sea. *Eneas*, calling to Mind the Oracle, followed her until she stopp'd in a Place that was very high. This Place being barren and uncultivated, our Heroe was at a Loss how this could be reconciled with the magnificent Promises of the Oracle, when a Voice proceeded from the neighbouring Wood, and intimated to him that this was the Place where he was to build a City, and that after having resided there as many Years as the Sow should bring forth young, a more considerable Settlement was decreed for him by the Fates. *Eneas* obeyed the heavenly Voice, and began to lay the Foundations of a City that was called *Lavinium*, as has been said ; the Day after the Sow brought forth thirty young, which presaged that within thirty Years he was to build another City.

This Fable would seem to signify, that *Eneas* was able to procure at first only a little barren Spot of Ground overgrown with Wood ; but that afterwards, upon the Defeat of *Turnus*, and his Alliance with *Latinus*, he became capable of aggrandizing himself. Perhaps too as he was very superstitious, the Victim might happen to escape by Accident, and he follow it as a Presage given him by the Gods. The same Authors inform us of other Prodigies that are as little worthy of Credit.

C H A P. VII.

The History of Memnon.

THERE is no doubt, as we shall see in the Sequel of this Chapter, but that *Memnon* the Son of *Tithonus*, as *Priam's* Kinsman and Ally, furnished him with Troops towards the End of the Siege of *Troy*; this is what all the Ancients who have made mention of this War are agreed in. *Homer*, 'tis true, says nothing of it in his *Iliad*, because that Prince not having arrived till about the Middle of the tenth Year of the Siege, at which Period of Time all the Incidents that enter into that Poem had happened, he was in the

right not to name him among the other Allies of the *Trojans*. However, as he has inserted in his *Odyssey* several Particulars concerning this same War, he there says (1), the Son of *Aurora* slew *Antilochus* the Son of *Nestor*; which all the Learned understand of *Memnon*, for Reasons which we shall see afterwards. The same Poet names him too in the eleventh Book, where he makes *Ulysses* say, that of all the Shades the most beautiful next to *Memnon*, was that of *Eurypilus*. But 'tis not very easy to determine who he was, and whence he came, the Learned being very much divided on this Head; some following the *Greek* Traditions, that make him come from *Persia*, whither his Father *Tithonus* had retired; others from *Egypt*, whither it was *Amenophis*, or *Setbos*, or some other Prince that reigned there at that Time: Difficulties on both sides, tho' not so great in following the *Greek* History, than the *Egyptian* Tradition concerning that Time. To be convinced of this, we need but consider, how *Perizonius* and M. *Fourmond* the elder have been perplexed, they who have examined this Article with a great deal of Care.

Thus the first knows not what King of *Egypt* to fix upon to find out *Memnon*; he seems however, after many Discussions, to conclude that he was the Son of *Proteus*, who, according to *Homer*, reigned there in the Time of the *Trojan* War; and that *Proteus* is the same with *Setbos*, or the *Tithonus* of the *Greeks*. But in following this Hypothesis, we are very soon intangled in a new Difficulty. *Pausanias* speaking of the famous Statue of *Memnon*, says it was that of an *Egyptian* King whom they named *Pthenomphas*, or *Amenophis*: Now about that time we find two Princes of this last Name; namely the eighth and seventeenth of the eighteenth Dynasty of the *Diospolitans*. Whose Statue was it of the two? *Eusebius* and after him *Syncellus*, are of Opinion that it is the first's; and *Perizonius* sometimes will have it to belong to the second, sometimes
he

(1) *Odyssey*, l. 4.

he knows not what to make of it, *ad alterutrum ego retulerim hunc Memnonem.*

Farther, another thing that perplexes our Author, is what we read in *Strabo* (1) that the *Memnon* of the Siege of *Troy* was named by the *Egyptians*, *Ismandes*, or *Mandes*; he must therefore find his *Memnon* in that Prince, as he does: But still new Difficulties. *Diodorus Siculus* gives the Name of *Maro* to this *Mandes*, and asserts that it was he who built the Labyrinth: We must therefore once more seek the *Memnon* of the *Greeks*, in him who during his Reign executed that Work which has been the Admiration of the World; but how had he the Time to get it done, his Father *Titbonus* having died in extreme old Age, and he himself having lost his Life at the Siege of *Troy*? It required at least a long Reign and a continued Tract of Peace to carry on that Structure, which *Pliny* calls *Portentosissimum humani ingenii opus. The most amazing Work of human Invention.*

M. Fourmond the elder (a), sufficiently shews the Weakness of *Perizonius's* Opinion, and that his very Conjectures destroy themselves. In fact, that learned Author having made *Amemenes* the Son of *Proteus*, pitches afterwards upon *Amenophis*, then he returns to the former: And after a good deal of Reasoning, he comes to agree with *Manetho*, whose Opinion he pretends to recede from. The same *M. Fourmond* fully proves next under what King of *Egypt* *Troy* was taken, being persuaded that *Manetho*, an *Egyptian* Author, must be preferred to *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus*; but does he find the *Titbonus* of the *Greeks*, and his Son *Memnon* in him who lived at *Diospolis*, in the Time of the Siege of that City? This is what he seems not to me to have proved. Besides, another Difficulty that equally affects all those who have recourse to *Egypt* for the Prince who came to the Succour of the *Phrygians*, on what Foundation can they assure us, that the King of *Egypt*

Y 3 of

(1) *Geogr.* 1. 17.

(a) *Reflexions upon the History of ancient Nations.* Tom. ii. p. 169.

of that Time, was the Kinsman and Ally of *Priam*, and that he sent from the Extremity of *Thebais* where he reigned, his Son with twenty thousand Men, to the Relief of a City so remote, and whereof probably he had never heard a Word? The Kings of *Egypt*, those especially of *Diospolis* who reigned in that Time, proud of their Power, their Forces and Riches, had a high Contempt of other Kings, and never would admit of any Comparison with them.

We must therefore return to the Tradition of the *Greeks*, the only probable one as to this Article. *Hesiod* is the first who made use of it; *Pindar* improved upon it afterwards, and *Ovid* adds new Circumstances to it of his own. 'Tis true, in these Poets it is adulterated with several Fables, but they are such as are not inexplicable, as will appear at first Sight.

Reinerius Reinecius, in his learned Work upon ancient Families (1), is of Opinion that *Tithonus* was the Son of *Tros*, and Brother to *Laomedon*; and he prefers this Opinion to that of *Homer*, followed therein by *Apollodorus*, *Ovid* and *Hyginus*, who will have it that *Laomedon* was his Father, and consequently that he was *Priam's* Brother. *Tithonus* not satisfied with his Portion, and his Brother *Laomedon* who succeeded to his Father *Tros*, probably allowing him no great Share in the Administration, he had no other Way to employ his Time but in Hunting, of which he was desperately fond. As he was wont every Morning to get up before the rising Sun, to plant his Toils in the Woods, hence he was said by a natural enough Metaphor to be enamoured of *Aurora*; and having abandoned *Pbrygia* from some Disgust, whereof we know not the Cause, and repaired to *Susa* where *Teutamus* then reigned, he was favourably entertained by him, the Kingdom of *Priam* holding at that Time of the King of *Persia*. This Retreat gave Birth to a second Fiction. It was given out that *Aurora* had ravished *Tithonus*; a Fable which, no doubt, took its rise from what we have said of his love of Hunting, and from his

(1) Tom. iii. de Trojan. orig. & imperio, p. 13.

his Retreat into a Country which lay to the East of *Pbrygia*.

Teutamus procured *Titbonus* a good Settlement in his Dominions, and gave him in Marriage *Ida*, by whom he had *Memnon*; and as the Exercise of the Body, when it is not carried too far, has a great Influence to strengthen the Constitution, and to produce a good State of Health, *Titbonus* died in an extreme old Age. Hence arose another Fiction: It was fabled that his Lover had transformed him into a Grasshopper, either to set forth to us that he had lived to a great Age; or, according to popular Opinion, this Insect, like the Serpent, is thought to renew its Age every Year by hanging its Skin; or to denote that he resembled that little Animal in endless Prattle, as is the Manner of old Men.

Memnon led to *Troy* ten thousand *Persians*, and as many *Ethiopians*, with a great Number of Chariots. He set out, according to *Pausanias*, not from *Ethiopia*, but from the City *Susa* in *Persia*, and from the Banks of the River *Gboaspes*; and his Expedition was so unquestionably true, that the *Pbrygians* shewed even in the Time of that Author, the Rout he had taken, his Marches, and his several Encampments. We learn the same Fact from most of the Ancients, and particularly from *Diodorus Siculus*, *Quintus Smyrneus*, and *Lucan*. This Prince was presently distinguished by his Valour, and made great Havock of all the *Greeks* who came in his Way. He slew *Antilochus*, who was hastening to the Relief of his Father *Nestor*, ready to sink under his Blows, and who saved his Life at the Expence of his own. *Homer*, who makes no mention of *Memnon* in his *Iliad*, as I have already remarked, has not omitted this Piece of History in his *Odyssey* (1). After that Poet has told us that the Speech of *Menelaus* concerning *Ulysses*, had drawn Tears from all who were present, he adds: *Pisistratus the Son of the wise Nestor, was tenderly affected with the Relation; his Brother Antilochus, whom the valiant Son of the Morning had slain*

(1) *Odys.* l. 4. v. 187.

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in Battle, occurred to his Mind, and at this Remembrance, with Tears trickling down his Cheeks he bespeaks Menelaus, &c.

Nestor inconsolable for the Death of his Son, who had so generously devoted himself for him, engaged *Achilles* to give him Revenge; and that young Prince having attacked *Memnon*, slew him at last after a sharp Combat, which *Quintus Smyrneus* describes at full length. Sumptuous Funerals were given him. According to some of the Ancients, his Ashes were carried into *Persia*, to comfort his Father who was still alive (a), tho' 'tis more probable that his Body was burnt, and his Ashes put in a Tomb upon the *Trojan Coast*; and that the Tomb which *Strabo* says he had in *Susiana*, was but a mere Cenotaph which had been raised there to his Honour. This Combat of *Achilles* with *Memnon* employed the Pencil of *Polygnotus*, as we read in *Pausanias*.

It happened perhaps that during the Ceremony of his Funerals, some travelling Birds that came at that Time into *Phrygia*, alighted in that Place; which gave some Flatterers a Handle to say, that they had sprung from his Ashes (1), and from that Time they got the Name of *Memnonides*. *Eliau* (2) says these Birds were black, shaped much like Hawks, which came every Year in Autumn from the Country of *Cyzicus*, to the Mountain where was this Prince's Tomb; that they divided into two Companies, fought together, and that the Conquerors returned after the Fight. *Pliny* adds (3), that there are several Authors who assert the same Thing; and if we may believe *Cremetius* (4), they performed the same Game in *Ethiopia* every fifth Year, near the Place where *Memnon's* Palace stood. *Pausanias*, (b) *Solinus*, and others, make mention of it likewise.

The

(a) The Death of *Antiochus* and the Combat between *Memnon* and *Achilles*, are represented in the *Iliac Table*, as they also were, according to *Pausanias*, upon a Work of *Bathyclus*.

(1) Ovid. l. 13. (2) L. 5. de Anim. (3) L. 2. c. 26. (4) *Aquil* Plin. loc. cit.

(b) See *Pausanias* in *Attic*. *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Tacitus*, *Lucian*, *Phib-
Aratus*, *Tzetzes*, &c.

The first, after having said that *Polygnotus* had represented in that fine Picture, the Subject whereof was the sacking of *Troy*, these Birds which had no other Name but the Birds of *Memnon*, tells us that those who inhabited the Coasts of the *Hellspont*, asserted that every Year upon one precise Day, they came and made clean certain Space of Ground about the Tomb of this Prince, where neither Tree nor Grass was left to grow, and that afterwards they watered it with their Wings, which they went and dipped of purpose in the River *Esopus*.

What is reported of the Statue of this Prince at *Thebes* in *Egypt*, is no less wonderful: It is alledged that when the Sun-beams happened to strike upon it, it sent forth an harmonious Sound. *Strabo*, a very judicious Author, says he himself had been Witness to this Miracle, which can be attributed to nothing but either the Quality of the Stone it was made of, or to the Imposture of the Priests, or rather to some secret Spring which the learned *Kircher*, after *Pausanias*, alledges to have been a kind of Harpsicol inclosed within the Statue, and whose Strings being first slackened by the Moisture of the Night, and then distended by the Heat of the Sun, broke with a Noise (1) resembling that of the String of a Violin when it breaks. *Cambyses*, who spared not the *Egyptian Ox Apis*, having a Mind to see through this Mystery, wherein he suspected some Trick of Magic, broke the Statue from the Head to the middle of the Body.

But 'tis necessary to observe, that the Ancients vary so much with respect to this Statue, that we would not know what to fix upon; if *Strabo* (2), an Author who was an Eye-witness, and who has no Design to impose, had not told us that he himself saw it, and heard the Noise it made. "I was, says he, with *Ælius Gallus*,
 "and with a Number of Friends, when as we were
 "surveying the *Colossus*, we heard a certain Sound,
 "without being able however to determine, whether
 "it came from the Statue, or the Base, or if it proceeded

(1) *Pausan.* in *Attic.* (2) *Lib.* 17.

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“ceeded from any of the By-standers : For I would
 “rather believe any thing else, than imagine that
 “Stones ranged in such and such a Manner, were
 “capable of yielding such a Sound.”

To the Authority of this learned Geographer, we might add that of *Pausanias*, who in his Travels thro’ *Egypt*, saw the sorry Remains of this Statue, which *Cambyfes* had broke. The lower Part of the *Colossus*, says he, was still upon its Pedestal, while the rest of the Body was thrown down to the Ground, and every Morning at the Sun-rising yielded the Sound we have now been speaking of. *Pliny* (1) indeed, and *Tacitus* (2) both advance the same Fact, but without having been Witnesses to it; and *Lucian* (3) informs us that *Demetrius* went of purpose to *Egypt*, to see there the Pyramids, and *Memnon’s* Statue, from whence a Voice proceeded at the rising of the Sun. What the same Author adds in the Dialogue of *the false Propbet*, appears to be meer Raillery : “When, says he, in my
 “younger Days I was in *Egypt*, I had the Curiosity
 “to go and see the Miracle that was reported concerning *Memnon’s* Statue, which uttered a certain
 “Sound at Sun-rising; and I heard this Sound as the
 “Voice of an Oracle, and not after the Manner of
 “others who heard only an inarticulate Noise, since
 “*Memnon* himself delivered an Oracle every seventh
 “Year, which I would rehearse, if I did not think it
 “needless.”

Tho’ ’tis obvious that *Lucian* only jeers in that Place, ’tis nevertheless true, that the Statue we are now speaking of was believed to deliver Oracles.

Those who have read the Poets know with what flourish they have set off the Article of *Memnon’s* Death. We see in their Writings, sometimes the Gods in full Council, at a Loss what Resolution to take upon the Death of this Prince : Sometimes *Aurora* in the Bitterness of her Grief refusing her Light to the World, until *Jupiter* had determined her to resume her ordinary Functions, &c.

If

(1) L. 36. c. 7. (2) Annal. l. 2. (3) In Toxi.

VII. explained by HISTORY. 331.

be asked whence it came to be said that *Tithonus* first asked of *Aurora* his Spouse to live several, and that afterwards oppressed with the Infirmities of old Age he desired to be transformed into a Grasshopper, which was granted him: I answer that it lies in plain *English*, that *Tithonus* lived very long, and that he was perhaps, after the Example of old Men, so open and talkative, as to be compared to a Grasshopper; or rather this Fable was composed to support the Fiction of his Intrigue with *Aurora*: the Grasshopper feeds upon the Dew that falls in the first Light of the Morning; or, if you will, it intimates that this Prince, weakened by great Age, had overthrown his Strength by Remedies that were given him, whence he came to be compared to the Grasshopper, which changes its Skin, and recovers its Strength, when it is exhausted by continual singing, and the Heat of the Sun.

There is no less Variety among both Ancients and Moderns concerning *Memnon* himself than in Relation to his Name. As *Hesiod* had said he was King of *Thebes*, several Authors who came afterwards, instead of explaining what that Poet said had any Foundation in History, and in the *Egyptian* History, adopted it without any Restriction. *Pausanias*, *Strabo*, *Diodorus* follow it, as also *Pindar* and *Ovid*. They thought themselves sufficiently warranted by *Hesiod*'s saying that he was the Son of *Tithonus*, *Laomedon*'s Brother, and that that Prince had sent him to the Assistance of *Priam* his Nephew. And if these same Authors make him King of *Ethiopia*, tho' *Hesiod* says he was King of *Egypt*, it is because before *Psammetichus*, the *Egyptians* were but little acquainted with *Egypt*, because that Kingdom extended not far beyond the Nile, taking all the rest, especially *Thebais*, for *Ethiopia*: *Strabo* remarks (a). The Author whom I here mention, has laid out a great deal of Erudition upon this Article, as well as upon *Memnon*'s Statue; but in order,

1. *Homer* has confounded these two Countries in his *Odyssey*. See *Marshall's Secula* 15.

order to reconcile him with the other *Greeks*, we may say there were several Princes of the same Name, and that the History of *Amenophis* served perhaps to embellish that of *Memnon*. M. le Clerc has a very singular Opinion concerning this Prince: he takes him for *Hammon*, or *Ham*, the Son of *Noah*; and *Vossius* (a) asserts that he was the same with *Baalhis*, a Divinity of the *Syrians*, Male and Female, called by the *Greeks*, *Aphrodité*, and represented under the Form of a Stone: Accordingly *Philostratus*, as that learned Author remarks, says, *Memnon* was transformed into a black Stone, or rather into a Statue of black Stone, in the Taste of the Ancients, whereof the Eyes were shut, the Legs and Arms joined, and very little different from rough unpolished Stones. This is the Idea that Author gives of it in the Life of *Apollonius Tyaneus*, though all the rest speak of *Memnon's* Statue that was at *Thebes*, in *Egypt*, as a Colossal Figure, having the Mouth open, and resembling a Man who is about to speak.

To finish this History, I shall add that we have nothing more particular upon this Subject than what we read in *Diodorus Siculus*: namely, that this Prince the Son of *Tithonus* led to *Troy* the *Assyrian Troops*, under the Reign of *Teutamus*, who was the twentieth King from *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, the *Assyrians* possessing at that time, which is upwards of a thousand Years ago, the Empire of *Asia*; *Priam* who was Tributary to the Kingdom of *Teutamus*, having applied to him for Assistance in his pressing Exigency, and having sent to him under the Conduct of *Memnon*, ten thousand *Assyrians*, and as many *Persians*; with two hundred Chariots, as has been already said. Whence we must conclude that the *Persians* whom *Diodorus* speaks of in this Place, being from *Susana*, that Part of *Persia* that went under that Name was then Subject to the *Assyrians*, and that those *Ethiopians* were oriental *Ethiopians*, sufficiently distinguished by the Ancients, from the *Ethiopians* that are in the middle of *Egypt*. Such was the Country of *Memnon*, and that of the Troops he led to *Troy*. Those who
make

(a) Observat. upon *Pomponius Mela*.

ke this Prince a Native of *Phrygia*, give Ground to
ieve that this was possibly the Reason why *Teutamus*
de Choice of him to command the Troops he sent
Priam. That the Kingdom of *Tros* had been tribu-
y to the ancient Empire of the *Affyrians*, besides
at has been quoted from *Diodorus Siculus*, is con-
ned by *Plato*, who expressly says so (1); but here is a
stage taken from *Huetius's* Treatise concerning the
uation of the Terrestrial Paradise (2), which throws
ore Light upon the History of *Memnon*, than all that
d been said before him. " *Memnon*, says that learn-
ed Prelate, was the Son of *Titbonus* and *Aurora*.
Titbonus was the Brother of *Priam* King of *Troy*, and
to him is sometimes ascribed the Founding of the
City *Susa*, the Capital of *Susiana*. From the Name
of *Memnon* his Son, the Citadel was denominated
Memnonium, the Palace and the Walls *Memnonian*,
and *Susa* itself the City of *Memnon*, upon Account
of the Veneration that was paid to him there; and
in Honour of him a Temple was built, whither the
Affyrians went and mourned for him, which is to be
understood of the People of *Susiana*. This is that
Memnon who came to the Assistance of the *Trojans*,
from whom he derived his Original, and who was
slain by *Achilles*. When the *Greeks* feigned that he
was the Son of *Aurora*, they would have us to under-
stand that he came from the East. - - - - I know, the
History of *Memnon* is very perplexed, and very dif-
ferently related. Most ancient Authors tell us he
was an *Ethiopian*: This Error flows from their con-
founding *Cbus*, which signifies *Susiana*, with *Cbus*
which signifies the Countries situated upon the Bor-
ders of the *Arabick* Gulph, I mean *Ethiopia* and *Ara-
bia*. - - - - What we are in Reason to think concern-
ing *Memnon's* Expedition, may be gathered from
Diodorus, and some others. The Kingdom of *Troas*
was in the Dependance of the Empire of *Affyria*.
Titbonus, *Priam's* Brother, who was Master of that
King-

(1) De leg. L. 3: (2) Ch. 13:

“ Kingdom, went to the Court of the King of *Affria*,
 “ who gave him the Government of *Sufiana*. There
 “ he married in his old Age; and because his Wife
 “ was from a Country situated to the East of *Greece*
 “ and *Troas*, the *Greeks* who turned all History into
 “ Fiction, said he had married the Morning. *Mem-*
 “ *non* and *Ematbion* were the Issue of this Marriage:
 “ the War having after this arisen, *Priam* applied to
 “ *Teutamus* for Assistance, or at least to some King of
 “ *Affria*, who granted him twenty thousand Men,
 “ and two hundred Chariots of War. *Diodorus* says
 “ this Supply consisted of ten thousand *Ethiopians*,
 “ and ten thousand *Sufians*, returning to the vulgar
 “ Error, and confounding the *Cbus* of *Ethiopia* with
 “ the *Cbus* of *Sufiana*. To make this Supply of more
 “ Service, *Teutamus* gave the Command thereof to
 “ *Memnon*, a young Prince of the *Trojan* Race, and
 “ who was therefore concerned for the Preservation of
 “ *Troy*. He kept *Tibonus* with himself upon Account
 “ of his Age, which rendered him unfit for the Ex-
 “ pedition, and his Prudence which qualified him for
 “ being Member of his Council. *Memnon* found Re-
 “ sistance in his March. The *Solyimi*, who have been
 “ since called the *Pisidians*, would needs dispute the
 “ Passage with him; but he defeated them and all that
 “ opposed him. He cleared the Passes, repaired the
 “ Ways, and by Reason of that long and dangerous
 “ March, had the Honour to communicate his Name
 “ to that high Way which was denominated *Memnoni-*
 “ *an*. He sustained the Attacks of the *Greeks* before
 “ *Troy* with great Valour; but at last was slain by
 “ *Achilles*. Various Accounts are given of the Place
 “ of his Burial; for not to mention *Philostratus*, who
 “ will have it that he had no Sepulchre, but that he
 “ was transformed into that miraculous Stone, *Troas*,
 “ *Phenicia* and *Sufiana* contended together for him,
 “ and especially *Ethiopia*, tho’ it has no other Right
 “ to his Burial any more than to his Birth, but that
 “ which arises from the Equivocation of the Word
 “ *Cbus*. But notwithstanding the Obscurity that this
 Equivocation

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“ Equivocation has cast upon this History; *Philostratus*,
 “ *George Syncellus*, that is, the Coadjutor to the
 “ Church of *Constantinople*, and *Suidas* who had read
 “ and copied good Authors, tho’ often not very judi-
 “ ciously, have not been wanting to bear Testimony
 “ to the Truth; the first telling us that *Memnon* the
 “ *Ethiopian*, that is *Amenophis*, never came from *Troy*,
 “ and that he was wrongfully confounded with *Mem-*
 “ *non* the *Trojan*, not comprehending how *Memnon*
 “ could have brought Supply to the *Trojans* from so
 “ great a Distance, nor even by what Adventure *Ti-*
 “ *ibonus* had gone and settled in *Ethiopia*, and came to
 “ be King thereof: the second, by distinguishing exact-
 “ ly *Amenophis* King of *Thebes* in *Egypt*, who is also
 “ stiled *Memnon*, from the speaking Statue of *Memnon*
 “ the Son of *Tibonus*, whom he ranks among the
 “ Kings of *Assyria*; and *Suidas*, by asserting that that
 “ *Memnon* was not an *Ethiopian*, but a *Susian*. *Pausa-*
 “ *nias*, tho’ of a very penetrating Genius, has but half
 “ unravelled this Confusion; saying that *Memnon* the
 “ *Ethiopian* came not from *Ethiopia* to *Troy*, but from
 “ *Susa*. *Eustathius*, and the Scholiast on *Pindar*, who
 “ goes by the Name of *Triclinius*, write that *Memnon*
 “ and *Emathion* his Brother were the only white Men
 “ among those *Ethiopians*, tho’ *Virgil* and others make
 “ *Memnon* black. This Remark confirms my Opinion;
 “ for tho’ the Poets and Writers of Romance have
 “ taken the Liberty to feign that *Andromeda* and *Cba-*
 “ *ricleus* were born white among the *Blacks*, yet this
 “ is so singular in the ordinary Course of Nature, that
 “ there is much more Reason to believe that *Memnon*
 “ was white, because in Fact he was not an *Ethiopian*.”

C H A P. VIII.

The History of Eurypilus.

AMONG the *Trojan* Allies *Eurypilus* deserves a
 Place of Distinction, no less for his Birth than
 his excellent Qualifications, which gained him the Name
 of

of Heroe from the *Greeks* themselves; for *Ulysses*, who saw his Shade in Hell, gives him this Title.

He was the Son of *Telephus*, and Grandson of *Hercules*; and by the Side of his Mother *Astioche*, *Priam's* Sister, derived his Extraction from the Blood of the *Trojan Kings*.

This Prince was one of the handsomest and best made of his Time; but his were not effeminate Beauties, since to the personal Qualities with which Nature had favoured him, he joined a great deal of Valour and Courage. Accordingly we learn from *Quintus Smyrneus*, and the same Thing is represented upon the *Iliad* Table, that he slew *Nireus*, the Son of King *Charops* and *Aglaia*, who had brought from *Synna* his Troops, in three Ships, as we read in *Homer* (1), and after a sharp Combat he slew *Macbaon* the Son of *Esculapius*, who was seeking to revenge the Death of *Nireus*.

As he arrived not at the Siege of *Troy* till the End of the tenth Year, 'tis no Wonder that *Homer* has said nothing of him in his *Iliad*; but he has not omitted him in the *Odyssey*, as has been already remarked. After the following Manner does *Ulysses* speak of him to *Alcinous*, in Relation to the Feats of *Neoptolemus* at the Siege of *Troy*, where he arrived after the Death of his Father.

*Before the Van, impatient for the Fight,
With martial Port he strode, and stern Delight;
Heaps strow'd on Heaps beneath his Faulchion groan'd,
And Monuments of Dead deform'd the Ground.
The Time wou'd fail should I in order tell
What Foes were vanquish'd, and what Numbers fell;
How, lost thro' Love, Eurypilus was slain,
And round him bled his bold Cætan Train.
To Troy no Heroe came of nobler Line,
Or if of nobler, Memnon, it was thine.*

Pope's *Odyss.* B. xi. 629.

This

This Passage in *Homer* informs us of many Circumstances of this Heroe's History which we should otherwise have been ignorant of: That this Prince was one of the handsomest of his Time; that he fought stoutly at the Siege of *Troy*, that he was slain by *Pyrrhus* or *Neoptolemus* the Son of *Achilles*; that he had conducted to this Siege the *Ceteans*, over whom no doubt he reigned. Now the *Ceteans* inhabited *Mysia*, a Part of *Asia Minor* which was near the River *Caicus*. This is what we learn from *Quintus Smyrneus* (1) when speaking of the Arrival of *Eurypilus* at the Siege of *Troy*, he says *he was followed by the warlike Ceteans who inhabited upon the Banks of the Caicus*; or, to speak more accurately, upon the Banks of the *Cetium*, another River near the *Caicus*, as appears from a Medal referred to by *Spanheim*, and struck at *Pergamus*, in the Time of *Adrian* the Emperor. If it be ask'd why the *Pergamenians* struck this Medal, it was, as we are told by that learned Antiquary after *Aristides*, because that People reckoned *Telephus* the Father of *Eurypilus* in the Number of their Founders. The *Pergamenians*, to flatter *Adrian*, had represented upon this Medal of theirs this Heroe, under the Resemblance of, and with the same Features as *Antoninus*.

We learn farther from the Passage in *Homer*, that *Eurypilus* came to the Siege of *Troy* in Hope of becoming Son-in-law to his Uncle *Priam*, who had promised him his Daughter *Cassandra* in Marriage. In fine, that the *Ceteans* his Subjects, who all fought about their King till they died, had been drawn to the same Siege in Hope of marrying *Trojan* Women; for 'tis thus *Madam Dacier* explains it, tho' the Text of *Homer* bears only; *His Companions the Ceteans were slain as they fought about his Body, for the Presents of the Women*.

Strabo, who has quoted this Passage of *Homer* in his Geography, speaks of it to this Effect: *Homer in this Place proposes to us a Riddle rather than a Point of clear and plain History, for we neither know what People these Ceteans were, nor what we are to understand by the Pre-*

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sents of the Women, and the Grammarians, in the Fables they deliver, set forth to us their own Fancies much more than a Solution of the Difficulty. There are therefore here two Riddles instead of one, the first consists in finding out who these *Ceteans* were whom *Eurypilus* had brought to the Siege of *Troy*. The second, what we are to understand by these Presents of Women. But the first is no Riddle: we know it, and I have proved from the Authority of *Quintus Smyrneus*, to whom we may join *Hesychius*, that they were a People of *Mysia* who inhabited upon the Banks of the *Caicus*, and that it was there *Telephus* the Father of *Eurypilus* had settled. *Strabo* agrees to it, and says this is *Homer's* Sentiment. The same Author also grants that a Rivulet, which was called the *Ceteum*, run into the *Caicus*; why then would he not understand that the People who inhabited the Confines, might be called the *Ceteans*? *Madam Dacier* in her Notes upon the *Odyssey* (1), has endeavoured to explain the second Difficulty; but not to dissemble, she has for her Opinion only *Ditys* of *Crete*, whose Authority is not generally acknowledged. This Author will have it that *Homer* in this Passage had an Eye to the Presents which *Priam* had sent to his Sister *Astioche* to engage her to make her Son come to his Assistance, with a Promise besides to his Nephew to give him his Daughter in Marriage. Among these Presents is reckoned a golden Vine, which *Jupiter* was said to have given formerly to *Tros*. Whatever be in that, it appears that *Priam*, hard put to it by his Enemies, had drawn to his Assistance several Princes by promising them his Daughter *Cassandra*. *Virgil* informs us that *Chorebus* came thither with that View, and *Homer* says the same of *Osbrioneus* the *Thracian*.

C H A P. IX.

The History of Laocoon.

LAOCOON for his Birth, and Dignity, no less than for the tragical Adventure that ended his Days,

(1) Tom. 2. p. 379.

IX. *explained by* HISTORY. 339

an Adventure which *Virgil* so elegantly describes second Book of the *Eneid*, and which is represented in one of the finest Monuments of Antiquity remaining, well deserves a separate Article. The Arts who are not agreed as to the Family whence derived his Original, are unanimous however that an illustrious one. *Hyginus* (1) says he was the *Acates*, and the Brother of *Anchises*. The Commentors on this Mythologist are of Opinion, and Reason, that there is an Error in this Place, and *Laocoon* was Brother to *Anchises*, we must substitute of *Acates*, *Capys*, who with the Consent was the Father of that *Trojan* Prince. Priest of he was appointed by *Lot* to the same Office for e, as we learn from *Virgil* (a), and it was in y of Priest of that God that he was sacrificing a son the Sea-shore, on the Day that preceded the sion of *Troy*. While the *Trojans* were busied eying the wooden Horse which the *Greeks* had their Camp, *Laocoon* came from *Troy*, and after in vain endeavoured to persuade them to have g to do with such a Present, which they ought to r only as a Machine, in whose capacious Womb nemies lay concealed, or which was designed for tering down of their Walls, he darted his Jave- s, which made it ring with a hollow confused

s Action was construed by all as Impiety, and ere much more confirmed in their Opinion, when ame time that this Priest was offering the Sacri- ove mentioned, two hideous Serpents from the of *Tenedos*, according to *Virgil*, or from *Calyd-* we may believe *Bacchilides* quoted by *Servius*, iving crossed the Sea that separates those Islands roas, advanced directly to the Altar where *Lao-* as sacrificing, fell upon his two Sons, whom s names *Antiphatus* and *Tymbreus* (b); and after piteously devoured them, seized upon *Laocoon*

Z 2

him-

b. 735.

Laocoon duSus Neptuno sorte Sacerdos.

Æn. l. 2.

Assander in Servius calls them Melanthus and Ethronus.

himself as he was coming to their Relief, and cruelly stung him to Death (a).

'Tis this Adventure has given Rise to a Master-piece of Sculpture representing it. This admirable Groupe, the Work, according to *Pliny*, of three celebrated Sculptors in *Rhodes*, *Agesander*, *Polydorus*, and *Athenodorus*, made of one single Block of Marble, was in the time of that Author in the Palace of *Titus* the Emperor, and is at this Day in the Gardens of the *Belveder* (b).

Those who have seen the Original, or the fine Copy, which is in bronze at *Trianon*, will easily perceive that this Groupe is formed upon *Virgil's* Description, whereof it perfectly exhibits the Spirit and Expression. But I must observe that our *French* Translators of this Poet, even the last who is so elegant, have not done Justice to the whole Sentiment, contenting themselves with saying *that the two Serpents in curling Volumes twice infolded the Body of Laocoon, and twice his Neck*, taking no Notice of what follows, tho' it gives the finishing Stroke to this fine Picture, *superant capite & cervicibus altis*; it ought therefore to have been added, that notwithstanding those complicated Folds, *they still overtop'd Laocoon by the whole Head and Shoulders*.

C H A P. X.

The History of Paris, Helen, Menelaus, and Oenone.

HECUBA, when with Child, had a frightful Dream: She thought she carried in her Womb a Torch that was one Day to set on Fire the *Trojan* Empire. The Soothsayers consulted about this Dream, said

(a) *Hyginus* ascribes this sad Catastrophe to the Wrath of *Apollo*, who thereby took Vengeance on *Laocoon* for having married contrary to the express Prohibition given him against it.

(b) *Laocoon qui est in Titi Imperatoris domo, opus omnibus & pictura & statuaria artis præferendum. Ex uno lapide, cum & liberos, draconumque mirabiles nexu, de consilii sententia fecere summi artifices Agesander, Polydorus & Athenodorus.*

Rhodii. Plin. l. 36. c. 5.

said the Son whom this Princess was to bring forth, would be the Cause of the Desolation of *Priam's* Kingdom. Thus the Queen being delivered, he was exposed upon Mount *Ida*, where some Shepherds brought him up. *Alexander*, this is the Name he went by at first (*a*), being grown up, distinguished himself among his Companions, and fell in Love with a Shepherdess named *Oenone*, the Daughter of the River *Cedrenus*; that is, of a petty King of that Country, who gave his Name to that River, and by her he had a Son exquisitely beautiful, named *Corythus*. *Oenone* jealous of *Paris* who had carried off *Helen*, as shall be said immediately, sent this Son to *Troy*, enjoining him to visit her Rival constantly; and the young Man discharged this Commission so well, that *Paris* took Umbrage at him; and having one Day entered his Wife's Apartment, and finding him sitting by her, slew him in a Transport of Passion (*b*). *Oenone*, incensed at this new Insult, poured out a thousand Imprecations upon her Lover; and as she had the Gift of Prediction, and some Skill in Plants, and their Use in Medicine, Talents which she was said to have received from *Apollo* who had been in Love with her, she foretold that the perfidious *Paris* would one Day be wounded, and have Recourse to her in vain, as I observe elsewhere.

In the mean while, an Adventure happened which brought *Alexander* to be known: One of *Priam's* Sons having carried off one of his Bulls, to give to him who should win the Prize at the Funeral Games that were to be celebrated at *Troy*, he went thither himself, entered the Lists with his Brothers, and vanquished them (1).

Z 3

Deiphobus,

(*a*) This Name, which is derived from a Greek Word that signifies, to defend, to succour, was given him by the Shepherds of Mount *Ida*, upon Account of the Courage he had shewed in defending his Flocks. He is thought to have been called *Efacus* before.

(*b*) *Conon. nar. 23.* gives this Account of young *Corythus's* Death; nor is he the only one of the Ancients who speaks of this Son of *Paris* and *Oenone*. *Parthenias*, who cites to this Purpose the *Tricks of Hellanicus*, *Lycophron*, and his Commentator *Tzetzes*, make also mention of him.

(1) *Hygin. Fab. 91.*

Deiphobus, or, according to others, *Hector*, was going to have killed him; but *Alexander* having shewed the swadling Cloaths in which he had been exposed (1), was known by *Priam*, and received by him with great Joy; and believing the Oracle which foretold him that his Son would bring about the Ruin of his Kingdom, before he came to the Age of thirty Years, to be false, since he was now full thirty, he was conducted to the Palace, and had the Name of *Paris* given him.

Some Time after, his Father having sent him into *Greece*, under Pretext of sacrificing to *Apollo* of *Delpbi*, but in Reality to take Possession of his Aunt *Hesione's* Estate, he fell in Love with *Helen*, carried her off, and drew upon his Party that Bloody War which we have been speaking of, wherein he lost his Life. *Oenone* is said to have foretold all the Circumstances of his Life, and that he would come one Day and die in her Arms; which accordingly happened: For finding himself wounded, he gave Orders to carry him to Mount *Ida* to apply to her for a Cure; but all her Remedies were ineffectual; the Wound he had received from *Philoctetes* by one of *Hercules's* poisoned Arrows, proved mortal. The unhappy *Oenone* died of Grief for the Loss of this faithless Lover.

To conclude, *Paris*, as we learn from *Dares* the *Phrygian*, who had seen him (a), was a very handsome Man; he had a fair Complexion, fine Eyes, a sweet Voice, and graceful Stature; besides, he was forward, bold, valiant and courageous, as *Homer* says in several Places. He wounded *Diomedes*, *Machaon*, *Menelaus*, *Antilochus*, *Palamedes*, and slew *Achilles*; and if he,
and

(1) *Servius* upon the fifth of the *Eneid*.

(a) Destruction of *Troy*, *Corn. Nep.* & *Dion. Chrysost.* say the same Thing.

I would have it observed once for all, that when in this History of the taking of *Troy*, and of the Circumstances that accompanied this Event, I cite *Dares* the *Phrygian* and *Dionys* of *Crete*, 'tis not that I believe they were present at the taking of that City, as they themselves say. Never did two Authors appear with more Marks of Imposture; but as they are incontestably ancient; that is, of the third or fourth Century, and as they seem to have read Works now lost, I thought their Authority was not to be despised.

some other of the *Grecian* Captains sometimes v up his Beauty to him, and tell him that he was : proper for the Feats of Love than War, it is g to their Passion. Let us now say something of s.

History of *Helen* was the Daughter of *Tyndarus* King of *Sparta*, and of *Leda*: I have said already what we are to think of her , and of the Fable that made her pass for *Jupiter's* hter. As this Princess was exquisitely beautiful, s ravished her at the Age of seven Years, accord- o some Authors, or of ten according to others, ut her into the Hands of his Mother *Ætbra*, at lues. Her Brothers having received her, she was ed by several Princes who assembled at *Sparta*, that r all the Nobility of the Country, in an Age so ul in Heroism: *Ulysses* the Son of *Laertes*, *Dio-* the Son of *Tydeus*, *Antilochus* the Son of *Nestor*, rnor the Son of *Anceus*, *Sthenelus* the Son of *Capa-* *Amphilochus*, *Thalpius*, *Mnestheus*, *Ajax* the Son leus, *Ascalaphus* the Son of *Mars*, *Elpenor*, *Eume-* e Son of *Admetus*, *Polypetes* the Son of *Pyritheus*, irius and *Macbaon* the Sons of *Esculapius*, *Philoctetes*, ilus, *Protefilaus*, *Ajax* and *Teucer* the Sons of *Tela-* *Patroclus* the Son of *Menæti*us, and *Menelaus* the Son rcus; in a Word, almost all the Princes who were af- rds at the Siege of *Troy*, and who were the Children of who had joined in the Conquest of the *Golden* ;, or in the *Theban* War, contended, according to idorus (1), for this great Beauty, who was one Day ve the Crown of *Sparta* to him who gained her.

Tyndarus, amazed to see so many Competitors for his hter, was afraid lest if he gave the Preference to one of them, the rest should raise an Insurrec-

but *Ulysses*, who thought not himself powerful gh to get the better of the rest, and who was come rta more out of Policy than Love, assured him ic would extricate him from his Difficulty, if he l contribute his Endeavours to get him *Penelope*

to Wife: That Prince having promised to do as he desired, *Ulysses* said his best Way was to take an Oath of all those Rivals, that when he had given one of them his Daughter they would join in Defence of him whom he should choose against those who should claim her from him. When *Tyndarus* had followed the Advice of the wife *Ulysses*, he determined in Favour of *Menelaus*, the Brother of *Agamemnon*, who had already married *Clytemnestra* his other Daughter.

The Beginnings of this Marriage were very happy; and even her Adventure with *Paris*, which we have before related, did not quite extinguish the Passion of *Menelaus* for her, since after the Ruin of *Troy*, this Traitors having basely given up to him *Deiphobus*, whom she had wedded after *Paris's* Death, he was so good natured as to construe this Sacrifice to be a Mark of her Affection to him (a), and was reconciled to her, tho' this is what all Authors are not agreed in (b).

After the Death of this Prince, or if we may believe *Pausanias* (1), while he was still abroad, *Megapenthes* and *Nicostratus* his natural Sons banished her, and she was forced, according to *Herodotus* (2), to repair to the Island of *Rhodes*, where *Polixo*, to revenge the Death of her Husband *Tlepolemus* slain at the Siege of *Troy*, sent to her in the Bath two Chamber-maids, who hanged her upon a Tree. The *Rhodians*, says *Pausanias*, erected a Temple to her under the Title of *Helen Entitris*, that is, *hanging from a Branch*, and decreed to her divine Honours.

This was not the only Temple that was raised to the Honour of this Princess. The *Lacedemonians* had built one to her in a Place of their City, called *Terape*, above that of *Apollo*; and this Temple, we are told, had a

Quality

- (a) *Egregia interea conjux arma omnia teffis
Anovet, & fidum capiti subduxerat ensem.
Intra teffa vocat Menelaum, & limina pandit;
Scili et id magnum sperans fore munus amanti,
Et famam veterum extingui sic posse malorum.*

(b) *Pausanias* l. 5. makes mention of a Statue of *Menelaus*, pursuing *Helen* with Sword in Hand; and *Euripides*, in his *Troas*, represents her Husband inveighing bitterly against her.

- (1) In *Lacon*. (2) *Lib. 2.*

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Quality of giving Charms to ugly Women; at least *Herodotus* (1) tells us that a *Spartan* Lady extremely rich, being delivered of a very ugly Daughter, a Person unknown appeared to the Nurse, who counselled her to carry her often into the Temple of *Helen*, in Consequence of which she became so handsome, that being married to *Agetes* Secretary to *Ariston* King of *Sparta*, this Prince fell in Love with her himself, and took her to Wife. If this pretended Miracle had been well attested, and the officious Nurse not substituted another Child, sure I am there had not been in all *Greece* a Temple more frequented than that of *Helen*.

As the *Greeks* had turned the Island *Leucé* into a kind of *Elysian* Fields, as has been said in the History of *Achilles*, there it was, say they, that *Helen's* Shade resided; and we read in *Conon* (2) that when *Autoleon* went thither to be cured of a Wound he had received in fighting against the *Opuntians* (3), *Helen* still resenting, even in that happy Region, the Aspersions *Stesichorus* had thrown upon her in his Verses, gave him to understand that if that Poet would recover his Sight, he must advise him to retract, and to write a Recantation.

To conclude, we must not forget that there occur vast Difficulties as to the Age of this Princess. 'Tis commonly thought that she was Twin-Sister to *Castor*, who joined in the Conquest of the *Golden Fleece*, that happened about thirty-five Years before the taking of *Troy*; we cannot allow this Prince less than fifteen Years when he made this Expedition with the *Argonauts*; thus it would follow that she was at least fifteen when *Theseus* ravished her, and sixty about the End of the Siege of *Troy*. If so, must not the Determination of *Priam's* Counsellors appear ridiculous, when being consulted (4) if they were for making Peace by giving up *Helen*, and she having appeared before them in that very Moment, they gravely declared, that so fine a Woman was well worth the Suffering all the Calamities of War to enjoy her. If with *Eusebius* we reckon

(1) L. 6. (2) *Nar.* 16. (3) *Iliad.* l. 3. (4) *Ibid.*

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kon the Conquest of the *Argonauts* to have been upwards of sixty Years before the Destruction of *Troy*, in that case *Helen* must have been above eighty Years; accordingly *Lucian* represents her at that Time as a decrepit old Woman.

It may indeed be said, that some Women preserve their Beauty longer than others. Thus we see that *Sarab* was fourscore Years when *Abimelech*, smitten with her Beauty, was going to have ravished her; but we have no need of all these Suppositions. It belongs to those who set the Events of that Age at too great a Distance to have recourse to them.

In the System that I have followed, all these Difficulties vanish. I even suppose, that *Helen* was Twin-Sister to one of the *Tyndaride*, which we might absolutely deny, and make her several Years younger. *Castor* and *Pollux* might have joined in the Expedition of the *Argonauts* when they were but fifteen or sixteen Years of Age. 'Tis no Wonder that two young Princes who saw all the Flower of *Greece* setting out in an Expedition wherein so great Glory was to be reaped, obtained leave from their Father to make their first Campaign with them. This Expedition happened about thirty-five Years before the taking of *Troy*, when *Helen* must of consequence have been but fifty Years. We may still cut off some of these Years, since the Ancients inform us that when *Theseus* carried her off, he was full fifty, and she but seven or ten Years at most. Now *Theseus* having died about the first Year of the Siege of *Troy*, or in the preceding one, at the Age of about seventy, in that Case, at the time of taking the City, only thirty Years would have intervened from her being ravished by that Heroe, which added to seven or ten, make but thirty-seven or forty for her Age when the City was taken. 'Tis true, upon this Supposition, it must be granted that *Helen* was not Twin-Sister to the *Tyndaride*. Now there is nothing extraordinary in either of these Conclusions; a Woman may still be lovely at that Age; and we need
not

not be in the least surprized that *Deiphobus* married her after the Death of his Brother *Paris*.

If it be objected that *Pausanias* (1) delivers the Opinion of three of the Ancients, who alledge, as has been said in the History of *Theseus*, that this Heroe had a Daughter by her, then I shall allow her to have been thirteen or fourteen Years when she was ravished, which will be no great Addition to her Age. In fine, those who, with *Scaliger*, reckon only twenty Years between the *Argonautic* Expedition and the taking of *Troy*, are still less embarrassed with this Difficulty.

Be this as it will, I have followed the most common Opinion with relation to *Paris* and *Helen*, and the Causes of the *Trojan* War; for in short, how would I perplex my Readers, should I lay before them all the Variety that is to be found among the Ancients upon this Head. Should I tell them that some contend (2) that *Helen* never was married to *Menelaus*; that being courted by all the Princes of her Time, she preferred *Paris* to all the rest; that *Menelaus*, who was in love with her, raised an Army against *Troy*; and that *Achilles* having been slain in a Combat, *Ulysses* advised the *Greeks* to desist from the Enterprize, and also to leave upon the Shore a gilded wooden Horse, as an *ex voto*, that *Minerva* might favour their Return. Should I add farther what has been already hinted at in the History of *Proteus*, that *Paris*, as he was carrying off *Helen*, had been driven by Storm upon the Coasts of *Egypt*, where, according to the Report which *Herodotus* had from the Priests of that Country, this Princess was detained till *Menelaus* came for her; that none of all these Circumstances, according to the same *Herodotus*, were unknown to *Homer*; but that he had adapted his Fable to the Taste of the *Greeks*, whom he was desirous to please; that according to other Authors of no less Credit (3) *Helen* was not ravished by *Theseus*, nor carried by him to *Abidnes*, as is commonly thought, but to *Egypt*, where he engaged *Pro-*
teus

(1) In *Corinth*. (2) *Dion. Prax.* (3) See *Servius* upon the 5th of the *Eneid*.

teus to keep her till his Return, and that this Prince gave her up to *Menelaus*, who came and demanded her; in fine, that the *Trojan* War, which I have been speaking of, was not undertaken for the sake of *Helen*, but upon Account of the old Quarrel between *Hercules* and *Laomedon*, and the Rape of *Hesione*, whom *Priam* wanted to recover. To which purpose spoke *Dion Chrysostom* in the middle of *Troy* itself, in the Harangue I have already mentioned: If the *Greeks*, said he, took and sack'd *Troy*, whence came it that they returning home victorious and triumphant, were so ill received, some of them assassinated, while most of the rest were shamefully banished, and forced to go to remote Countries in quest of Settlements? Again, whence came it that the *Trojans*, vanquished and subdued, instead of retiring into different Countries of *Asia*, where they had Friends and Allies, crossed the Seas and passed near the Coasts of *Greece*, to go and found Cities and Kingdoms in *Italy*, some of them, as *Helenus*, having settled even in the Heart of *Greece*? In all this there is no Probability; and we must give up with the common Tradition.

C H A P. XI.

The History of Protefilaus, Calchas, and Philocetusa.

P*rotefilaus* deserves a Place among the first Heroes of that Age, for having devoted himself to certain Death, in behalf of the *Greeks*, and for abandoning, the Day after his Marriage, a lovely Spouse whom he fondly doated upon. *Hyginus* says (1) he was called *Jolau* (a), and that having quitted his Spouse from the first Day of his Marriage, and join'd the other *Greeks*, tho' an Oracle had declared that he who first landed upon the Enemy's Shore was to lose his Life,

(1) Fab. 107.

(2) This Action was the Occasion of changing his Name to *Protefilaus*.

Life, finding others durst not venture, he sacrificed his Life for the Preservation of his Companions, and no sooner set his Foot a-shore than he was slain by *Hector* (a). His Wife *Laodamia* the Daughter of *Acastus*, to comfort herself for this Loss, got a Statue made that resembled her Husband, and kept it always by her. A Servant having seen it in *Laodamia's* Bed, went and told *Acastus* that his Daughter was in Bed with a Man; upon which he run up to her, and finding nothing but this Statue, ordered it to be burnt, that he might remove this sad Spectacle from his Daughter's Sight; but *Laodamia* making up to the Fire, threw herself into it, and so perished in the Flames; and this is what gave occasion to the Poets to say, that the Gods had restored *Protefilaus* to Life for three Hours, and that finding himself obliged after that Time to re-enter *Pluto's* Kingdom, he had persuaded his Wife to follow him.

Strabo (1), who in three or four Places of his Geography, speaks of *Protefilaus*, says his Dominions were in *Thessaly*, extended from *Pithiotis* where *Peleus* reigned, as far as the Sea, and that his chief Towns were *Antrona*, *Phyla*, &c. and this in conformity to *Homer*, who in the second Book of the *Iliad*, says he had brought with him in forty Ships the Inhabitants of *Pbilucé*, *Pyrrhesa*, *Icona*, *Antrona*, and *Pbolea*.

To proceed, I know not if what *Conon* (2) says of *Protefilaus* relates to another Prince of the same Name, or if, as is frequently his Case, he recedes from the Tradition followed by *Homer* and all the Ancients, since he says he survived the taking of *Troy*, and that having been overtaken with a Storm between *Mendes* and *Scione*, *Ætilla* *Laomedon's* Daughter, and *Priam's* Sister, who was of the Number of his Slaves, persuaded her Companions to set fire to his Ships, that they might not be carried into *Greece*; which having been executed,

(a) *Homer*, l. 2. says only he was slain by a *Dardanian*.

(1) L. 9. (2) *Nar.* 13.

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executed, he was obliged to stay at *Scione*, where he built a City of the same Name.

Calchas. As in all their Expeditions the Ancients always employed Religion, they never undertook any without taking Priests and Prophets along with them; and Sacrifices, with the other Acts of public Worship, were as regularly performed in a Camp, as in the best governed City. Thus was *Calchas* employed during the Siege of *Troy*. He was consulted as a Prophet, and as High-Priest he offered Sacrifices and Oblations. *Homer*, who speaks of him in several Places of the *Iliad*, gives us every where to understand that he was in high Esteem and Regard. It was he that ordered the Sacrifice of *Iphigenia*, to obtain a favourable Wind; and that foretold, by the Omen of a Serpent that devoured a Bird with her nine young, that *Troy* would not be taken till after ten Years Siege.

When the Army was overtaken with the Plague, *Calchas* was consulted, who, without troubling himself about the Interests of the Generals who had carried off *Chryseis*, pronounced that she must be returned to her Father (1): Before the funeral Pile was lighted to burn the Body of *Ajax*, who had killed himself upon Account of his being disappointed of *Achilles's* Armour, *Calchas*, whose Opinion was asked to know if that Heroe was worthy of this Honour, decided that he was not. In the general Pillage of *Troy*, the same High-Priest orders the House of *Eneas* not to be touched, and he was accordingly obeyed. Is the Question about sacrificing *Polixena* to the incensed Manes of *Achilles*, *Calchas* must be consulted, and he appears in Person at the barbarous Sacrifice that is made of this Princess, who is offered up to *Pyrrhus's* Resentment; and if he gives her not the mortal Blow, it is because she prevents him, as *Ovid* so elegantly describes in the fourteenth Book of his *Metamorphoses*. In a Word, nothing of Importance was transacted in the Army, without first consulting him. He was the Son of *Thestor*, and is therefore frequently stiled by the Poets *Thestorides*.

After

(1) *Iliad*. l. 1. See the *Iliac Tables*

After the taking of *Troy* not being inclined to embark with the *Grecian* Captains, he travelled by Land in Company with *Amphilochus* the Son of *Amphiaras*, to *Colophon* a City of *Ionia*, where, as he was one Day in a Grove sacred to *Apollo*, he met with *Mopsus*, another celebrated Diviner of those Times, who having proposed to him a Question, namely, how many young & Sow that happened to be passing by carried in her Belly; and he not being able to resolve it (1), while *Mopsus* did, it cut him so to the Heart that he died.

This is the Account of this Diviner's Death, as related by *Pherecides*. *Hesiod* says, *Mopsus* challenged him to divine how many Figs were upon a Fig-Tree which he pointed to him, and relates the rest of the Adventure as above; but *Sophocles*, such Uncertainty is there in these Sorts of Histories, had followed a Tradition quite different from these two. According to him, it was not at *Colophon* in *Ionia*, but in *Cilicia* that *Calchas* died. Lastly, *Conon* (2), who agrees with *Pherecides* as to the Place where this Prophet ended his Days, gives a quite different Account of his Death. *Amphimachus* King of *Colophon*, was preparing for an Expedition at the time that *Calchas* arrived at his Court, where *Mopsus* had distinguished himself of a long Time, not only by the prophetic Talent he possessed, but also by his Courage and Valour. The King consulted both of them. *Calchas* foretold him a signal Victory, while *Mopsus* denounced against him nothing but Disaster. The King having followed the Council of the former, was totally routed, and the Prophet died for Anger and Vexation.

Philoctetes was one of the most celebrated Heroes of that Age. He was the Son of *Peon*, and Companion of *Hercules*, who at his Death left him his Arrows, whereof one prov'd fatal to him afterwards. For having bound himself by Oath, not to reveal the Place where he deposited that Hero's Body, and after this the *Greeks*, when just ready to set out for *Troy*, having learned from an Oracle that before they

Philoctetes.

(1) *Pherecides*, (2) *Apud Phot. Nar. 6.*

they could become Masters of that City, it was necessary they should be in Possession of *Hercules's* Arrows, they sent Deputies to *Philoctetes* to get Notice where they were hid. *Philoctetes*, who was neither willing to violate his Oath, nor yet to deprive the *Greeks* of the Benefit they were to reap from those Arrows, after some Resistance, pointed with his Foot to the Place where *Hercules* was buried, and owned that he had his Arrows in his Custody. This Indiscretion cost him dear afterwards ; for while they were carrying him to *Troy*, one of these Arrows having fallen upon the same Foot with which he had pointed to the Place of *Hercules's* Burial, it grew to an Ulcer which sent forth such a noisome Smell, that at *Ulysses's* Entreaty, they left him in *Lemnos*, where for the Space of ten Months he suffered all those Pains and Agonies, which the illustrious Author of *Telemachus* describes so eloquently after *Euripides* (1) and *Ovid* (2). In the mean Time after the Death of *Achilles*, the *Greeks* finding it was impossible to take the City without the Arrows he had carried with him to *Lemnos*, *Ulysses*, tho' *Philoctetes's* mortal Enemy, undertook to go and bring him, which accordingly he did. 'Tis this Voyage and Negotiation, to mention it by the Way, that make the Subject of one of the finest Tragedies left us by Antiquity.

Philoctetes was no sooner arrived in the *Grecian* Camp, than *Paris* challenged him to a Duel ; but the *Grecian* Heroe having wounded him mortally with one of his Arrows, he went and died in the Arms of his dear *Oenone*. As his Ulcer was not yet cured, not daring after the taking of *Troy* to return to his own Country, he went to *Calabria* where he built *Petilia*, and was at last cured by Means of *Machaon*, as we learn from *Propertius* (3) and *Ovid* (a).

Philoctetes having been one of the most famous of the *Argonauts*, as has been said in their History ; and yet having survived the Destruction of *Troy*, this is a
new

(1) In *Philoct.* (2) *Met.* l. 14. (3) *L. 2. Eleg. 2.*

(a) *Tarda Philoctetæ sanavit crura Machaon.*

new Argument to prove the Proximity of these two Events.

C H A P. XII.

The History of Idomeneus and Merion.

Idomeneus the King of Crete, was the Son of Deucalion, and Grandson to Minos II. whose Father was Lycastus the Son of Minos I. who was consequently Idomeneus's Great Grandfather. This Prince, according to Homer, accompanied by Merion his Cousin-German (a), conducted to the Siege of Troy the Troops of Crete with a Fleet of twenty-four Ships (b), and distinguished himself there by some glorious Exploits. The Poet now named, describes the Combat of this Prince with Oibryoneus, who in hope of marrying Cassandra Priam's Daughter, had come to his Assistance from Cabesus, a Town in Cappadocia (1), whom he slew, even insulting him after his Death, according to the bad Practice of that Age, for having flattered himself with the hope of carrying away with him that Princess. Asius the Leader of the Troops raised from Percote, Sestus and Abydos, Cities situated upon the Coasts of the Propontis, and in the Neighbourhood of Phrygia, as he was seeking to revenge Oibryoneus, received the same Fate with him, while Merion, not so fortunate, or not so brave as his Cousin, shot an Arrow at Deipobus who attack'd him, and miss'd him. The Iliac Table represents these three Combats much in the same Manner as Homer describes them, and the rest of the Ancients are agreed with that Poet.

After the taking of the City, Idomeneus and Merion, loaded with the Spoils of the Trojans, were returning to Crete, when they were overtaken with a Storm by which they were like to have perished. While the

Vol. IV.

A a

Fleet

(a) Merion, according to Diod. Siculus, l. 5. was the Son of Molus the second Son of Minos, and Brother to Deucalion.

(b) Diod. Siculus, l. 5. makes the Number of them amount to 90, but the Text of that Author is thought to be vitiated in this Place.

(1) Steph. in Cabeso.

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Fleet was in this pressing Danger, *Idomeneus* made a Vow to *Neptune*, that if he returned to his own Kingdom he would sacrifice to him the first thing that met him. The Tempest ceased, and he arrived happily at the Port of *Crete*, where his Son, hearing of his Father's Arrival, was the first Object that presented to his View. 'Tis easy to imagine what Surprize and Distress *Idomeneus* must have been in at the Sight of him. In vain did the Sentiments of paternal Affection plead in his behalf; Religion, or rather Superstition prevailed; and he resolved to sacrifice his Son to the God of the Sea.

Some Ancients will have it that this Sacrifice was accomplished; but others believe, with more Reason that the People, undertaking the Defence of that Prince carried him off from the Altar. Be that as it will, a general Conspiracy was formed against *Idomeneus*, who finding himself not safe in his own Dominions, set sail for *Italy*, where he built, soon after his Arrival, the Town of *Salentum*, which M. de *Fenelon* has rendered very famous by the fine Episode which this Event furnishes him with.

Those who are of Opinion that the Origine of most of the ancient Fables is to be found in Scripture, which the Pagans, who are alledged to have been acquainted with it, had perverted, have not been wanting to tell us that *Idomeneus's* rash Vow was but a Copy of that of *Jephthé*. This is actually the Account given of it by *Huetius* (1), *F. Thomassin* (2), and some others: 'Tis in vain to object to them, that Motives equally strong might have induced both *Jephthé* and *Idomeneus* to make the same Vow; that to the one his Daughter presented herself first, and to the other his only Son and a thousand other Reasons which 'tis easy to imagine, they still persist in their Opinion, and the smallest Resemblance they think a sufficient Foundation for pursuing Parallels to great length. But I have fully refuted elsewhere these Parallels always overstrained (3)

Bu

(1) *Demonst. Evang.* p. 4. (2) *Lett. des Postes* (3) *Search 14th Source of Fables, V. 1. B. 1.*

Chap. XII. explained by HISTORY. 355

But perhaps after all this Vow of *Idomeneus* is a mere Chimera of late Invention, at least *Diodorus Siculus* (1) following another Tradition, makes no mention of it, he who lived near enough to *Crete*, to be able to inform himself of a Fact so notorious as this I am now speaking of, and who together with this cites his Vouchers, as *Epimenides* the Theologue, *Sofocrates*, and *Dosiades*, who according to *Albenceus*, wrote the History of *Crete*. He says on the contrary, that this Prince and *Merion* his Cousin, after the taking of *Troy*, returned happily to their own Country, where after their Death, a magnificent Tomb was erected to them, at which they received divine Honours. This Tomb was still to be seen in the Time of *Diodorus* in the City *Gnossus*, with this Inscription :

Here lies Merion by the Side of Idomeneus.

The *Cretans* sacrificed to them as to Heroes, and in their Wars invoked them as their Protectors. Hence it appears that the Vow I have mentioned, the Expulsion of *Idomeneus*, his Voyage to *Italy*, and the Building of *Salentum*, were at least Facts very much controverted.

Perhaps it will be said, that this Prince having distinguished himself in the City he is supposed to have built in *Italy*, and having established there the wise Laws of *Minos* the First his Great Grandfather, the *Salentines* paid him divine Honours, and instituted to him religious Worship, which was afterwards adopted by the *Cretans*; but what probability is there that those Islanders would honour as a God, and invoke upon the most important Occasions, a Man whom they had expelled for his Impiety and Rashness.

We may conclude that there is at least a great deal of Uncertainty with relation to the Founder of *Salentum*, and that it is very possible that City was built by another *Idomeneus*, who came to be confounded with the King of *Crete*.



PART SECOND.

TO make this System of *Mythology* compleat, I have still two Articles to be considered. The first relates to some particular Fables that have not any Connection with the Events of the fabulous Age, which have hitherto been the Subject of this Volume; for I have hardly omitted any that have a Reference to them.

The second concerns the Games of the *Greeks*; not those of Amusement, whereof *Meursius* and some others have given us the History; but those public Exercises which made a Part of their Religion, and that had been mostly instituted in the heroic Age. These two Articles shall be the Subject of the two following Books.



B O O K VII.

*The Explanation of some particular Fables
that occur in the Books of Mythology.*

THESE Fables have a Relation only to particular Facts upon which they were founded. This was commonly the Marriage of some Prince, or the Birth of some famous Child, or the amorous Despair of some Princess: For upon these Occasions, the Wits of the Age were not wanting to compose some Epithalamium or Elegy, where giving a Loose to the Sallies of their Genius, they almost always

ways made the Gods interpose in these Adventures ; thus intermixing the supernatural and sublime with Facts that were often not worthy of it.

We find of these Fables in *Apollodorus*, *Hyginus*, *Antoninus Liberalis*, *Conon*, *Menander of Colophon*, *Plan- ciades-Lactantius*, and others, chiefly in *Ovid*, who of all the Ancients has made the most ample Collec- tion of them ; and I must own, that with respect to the last, having explained them along with his *Me- tamorphoses*, I shall be often obliged to copy myself. For as they mostly allude to a particular Fact, when once we are come at that, there is little or nothing more to be added. But judicious Persons have given me to understand that I ought not to make any Scruple of this ; that a *Mythology*, such as this which I now offer to the Public, ought to contain whatever Readers have a Right to expect, and which they would fre- quently neither have Inclination nor Opportunity to consult in other Works.

C H A P. I.

The History of Tereus, Pandion, Progne, Phi- lomela, the Daughters of Pandareus, and Erech- theus.

OVID (1) and *Hyginus* (2) relate this History at very great Length, tho' with some Variation : History I call it, because *Strabo*, *Pausanias*, and several other Ancients, are agreed that the Event which gave rise to the Fictions, with which it is embellished, are true.

Pandion, the second of the Name, King of *Athens*, had two Daughters exceedingly handsome, their Names *Philomela* and *Progne*. He having no Male Issue, look- ed out for a Son-in-law who was powerful, and near his own Dominions. *Tereus*, a Prince whose King- dom was not far from *Attica*, was the Person he made Choice of, and to him he gave his Daughter *Progne* in Marriage, hoping to get some Assistance from him

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in the War he had with the *Thebans*: but the Brutality of his Son-in-law reduced him, thro' time, to such a Habit of Melancholy, that he died. In fact, some Years after the Marriage, whether *Progne* was dead, as *Hyginus* will have it; or at the Solicitation of that Princess who was desirous to see her Sister, as we are told by *Ovid*, *Tereus* came to *Athens*, and demanded *Philomela* of her Father, with a Design to carry her to *Thrace*, where her Sister was impatiently desirous to see her. *Pandion* refused a long Time to gratify the Importunity of his Son-in-law, as if he had actually foreseen that this Expedition would prove fatal to his Daughter; but at last he yielded her up to him, giving the young Princess Guards to take Care of her. So soon as *Tereus* saw himself in Possession of this Beauty, whom he was desperately in Love with, he was wholly bent upon gratifying his Passion; and no sooner came ashore, than he put to death the Guards which *Pandion* had put on Board with him, and carrying *Philomela* either to a Mountain, as *Hyginus* has it, or to an old Castle which belonged to him, as we read in *Ovid*, he ravished her; and stung with the cruel Reproaches she loaded him with, cut out her Tongue, and left her imprisoned in the Castle under a Guard of some Persons in whom he confided,

In the mean time *Philomela* delineated her Misfortune in a Piece of Needle-work, and by that means made known what had befallen her to her Sister, who taking Advantage of one of the Feasts of *Bacchus*, during which the Women were allowed to run thro' the Fields, she came directly to the Castle where her Sister was, carried her off with her, shut her up secretly in the Palace, slew her Son *Irys* (a), cut him in Pieces, and having boiled him, had him served up at the Feast she prepared for her Husband upon Occasion of the Festival now mentioned. *Philomela* appearing at the End of the Repast, threw upon the Table the Head of the Child, the King in a desperate
Rage

(a) *Paufania* lays this Murder to the Charge of the *Thracian* Women, which is more probable.

Rage and Fury put his Hand to his Sword to kill his Wife and Sister-in-law; but these two Princesses having got to a Ship which they had prepared for their Purpose, arrived at *Athens* before he could overtake them.

Thus far all is natural; but the Poets hardly ever fail to add to such Events the Intervention of the Gods: Thus it was given out that *Progne* had been transformed into a Swallow, *Philomela* into a Nightingale, *Ity* into a Pheasant or Goldfinch, and *Tereus* into a Lapwing. The Mythologists find Reasons corresponding to these Metamorphoses: They will have it that these symbolical Transformations were designed to figure the Characters of these several Persons. As the Lapwing is a Bird that delights in Filth, they will have this to be an Emblem of *Tereus's* impure Morals; because the Flight of that Bird is very slow, it signifies at the same time that he was not able to overtake the Princesses, his Ship not being so good a Sailor as theirs. A Verse of *Aristophanes*, in the first Act of his Comedy of the Birds, where *Tereus*, to abate the Astonishment of *Eulpis*, surprized to see that Prince under so hideous a Figure, gives us sufficiently to understand these ancient Fictions were often invented, or at least improved by the tragic Poets, and especially this one, since *Tereus* says: *Sophocles has thought fit to put me into this Disguise (a)*. The Nightingale that hides itself in Woods and Thickets, seems as it were industrious to cover *Philomela's* Shame and Misfortunes; and the Swallow that frequents Houses, sets forth the Disquietude of *Progne*, who in vain seeks after her Son whom she inhumanely murdered.

All this is very ingenious, but unluckily other Authors of greater Antiquity have demolished the very Foundation of all these fine Reflections; thus *Anacreon*, and after him *Apollodorus*, tell us that *Philomela* was transformed into a Swallow, and *Progne* into a Nightingale. Be that as it will, 'tis alledged that this Event happened at *Daulis*, a City of *Phocis*, where *Tereus* had taken up his Residence; which may be true, since

A a 4

that

(a) This Tragedy of *Sophocles* is not now extant.

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that Prince intending to assist *Pandion* his Father-in-law, who was at War with the *Thebans*, might have come with his Court to *Phocis*, to be in a better Capacity to help him.

We may fix the Date of this Event to about the Year 1440. before the Christian *Æra*, under the Reign of *Pandion* II. King of *Athens*. *Eusebius* sets it farther back, since he is of Opinion that *Progne* and *Philomela* were the Daughters of *Pandion* the first of the Name, who succeeded *Erichonius*. To conclude, 'tis probable that *Tereus* perished in Pursuit of his Wife and Sister-in-law, since *Pausanias* (1) informs us that his Tomb was to be seen at *Megara*.

Homer (2), whose Authority is of so great Weight in these Matters, follows another Tradition. What he says of her is to this Effect, in that Passage where he gives Account of *Penelope's* Woes:

The Day (ne'er brighten'd with a Beam of Joy!)
My Menials, and domestic Cares employ:
And, unattended by sincere Repose,
The Night afflicts my ever-waking Woes;
When Nature's bus'd beneath her brooding Shade,
My echoing Griefs the starry Vault invade.

As When the Months are clad in flow'ry Green,
*Sad Philomel, * in bow'ry Shades unseen,*
To vernal Airs attunes her varied Strains;
And Itylus sounds warbling o'er the Plains:
Young Itylus his Parents earling Joy!
Whom Chance misfed the Mother to destroy;
Now doom'd a wakeful Bird to wail the beauteous Boy. }
 Pope's *Odyss.* 19. 599.

It would seem from this Comparison that *Homer* knew neither *Progne* nor *Tereus*, and that he followed the Tradition I am going to relate.

Pandareus the Son of *Merops*, had three Daughters, *Merope*, *Cleothera*, and *Ædo*; this last, being the eldest

(1) In *Attic*. (2) *Olyss* l. 19.

* He calls her the Daughter of *Pandareus*.

Idest, was married to *Zethus*, *Amphion's* Brother, by whom she had but one Son, named *Itylus*. Envyng the numerous Progeny of her Sister-in-law *Niobe*, she resolved to kill the eldest of her Nephews; and as her son was brought up with her Cousin, and lay with him, she gave him Notice to change his Bed the Night she was to commit this Crime. The young *Itylus*, forgetting his Mother's Orders, was slain by his Mother instead of the Nephew: *Homer* in the following Book (1), resumes the same History, and adds that after the Gods had made *Ædo's* two Sisters, *Merope* and *Cleotbera* Orphans, by cutting off their Father and Mother, they were carried away by the *Harpies*, who delivered them up to the Furies at the Time they were to have been married.

To obviate some Difficulties before hand, that may arise from the History now given, 'tis necessary to distinguish with *Thucydides* (2), the *Thrace* where *Tereus* resided, from *Thrace* properly so called. The latter was very remote from *Greece*, in Comparison of the former, which bordered upon *Thessaly*. The Capital where *Tereus* dwelt, was called *Daulis*; this Canton, adds that judicious Writer, and not *Thrace* proper, was really the Scene of the tragical Adventure of young *Itys* murdered by his Mother and Aunt; and 'tis probable, he says farther, that the King of *Aibens* had given his Daughter to a neighbouring Prince, in hope of getting speedy Succour from him against his Enemy. A convincing Proof, concludes the same Author, that it was at *Daulis* this Adventure happened, is, that the Poets commonly give the Nightingale, or *Philomela*, the Epithet of *Daulias*.

Antoninus Liberalis, upon the Authority of *Nicander*, in his *Ornithologia*, relates an Adventure not unlike this we have now read. *Pandareus* of *Epbesus*, says he, had two Daughters, the one named *Ædon*, whom he married to *Polytechnus*, of the City *Colophon* in *Lydia*, the other called *Cbelidonia*. The new Spouses were happy while they revered the Gods; but having boasted

(1) *Odyss.* l. 20.

(2) *Lib.* 2.

boasted one Day that they loved one another better than *Jupiter* and *Juno*, this Goddess provoked at their Language sent Discord to them, who very soon set them together by the Ears. *Polytechnus* went to the Court of his Father-in-law to ask of him *Cbelidonia*, whom her Sister longed to see, and having led her into a Wood, ravished her. She in Revenge informed *Ædon* of the Insult he had offered to her, and both of them resolved to make the Husband eat his only Son *Itys*. *Polytechnus* being apprized of this horrid Design, pursued his Wife and Sister-in-law to the Court of *Pandoreus* their Father, whither they had repaired, and having clap'd him in Chains, and rub'd over his whole Body with Honey, threw him out to the open Fields. *Ædon* having conveyed herself to the Place where her Father was, strove to keep off the Flies and other Insects that annoyed him; and an Action so laudable being construed by her Husband as a Crime, he was going to have put her to Death, when *Jupiter*, moved with the Misfortunes of that Family, transformed them all into Birds of the same kind with those above mentioned.

Lastly, there is another Fable to be explained in the same Family of *Pandion*. *Erechtheus* his Son had four Daughters (1), who, from I know not what Whim, bound themselves by Oath not to survive one another, and that if one happened to die, the rest would die with her. In the mean time, *Eumolpus* declared War upon the *Athenians*, pretending that *Attica* belonged to his Father; but he was vanquished in the Battle fought upon that Occasion. *Neptune* his Father, to cut off from *Erechtheus* all Ground of Joy for this Victory, required that *Ostheia* the Daughter of that Prince might be sacrificed to him, which accordingly was put in Execution. His Sisters upon this killed themselves, and *Erechtheus* was killed with a Thunder-bolt which *Jupiter* hurled against him, at the Request of the same *Neptune*.

C H A P. II.

The History of Lycaon.

IOth I have said something of this Prince in the History of *Jupiter*, the *Greek* Historians have read both him and some of his Descendants which for me not to enlarge more upon this Article. I would premise that the Ancients distinguish Instances of this Name. The first was the Son of *Phebus* and reigned in that Part of *Greece*, which was afterwards called *Arcadia*, and to which he communicated the Name of *Lycaonia*, about 250 Years after Ce-

the second, who is the Subject of the Fable I am to treat of, succeeded him, and was a Prince equally powerful and religious; but by an Inhumanity which was but common in those rude Ages, he polluted the Feasts of *Lupercalia*, whereof he was the Founder, according to the *Arundel* Marbles, by sacrificing human Victims.

This Feast, after having been interrupted for many Ages, was re-established at *Athens*, in the Time of *Pericles*, as we learn from the tenth *Æra* of the *Marbles*. *Lycurgus* abolished at *Lacedæmon* the cruel Custom of offering there human Victims. *Evander* some time after introduced the same Feast into *Italy*.

Lycaon built upon the Mountains of *Arcadia* the City of *Lycaonia*, which is reckoned the most ancient City of *Greece*; and it was upon the Altar he erected there in Honour of *Jupiter Lyceus*, that he began to offer barbarous Sacrifices I have been speaking of. This is the Foundation of the Fable in *Ovid*, and what made Poets say he had given *Jupiter* an Entertainment, which he had served up to him the Members of a Man whose Throat he cut; for thus it is explained by *Virgil* in his *Arcadicks*. His Cruelty, and his Name, which in *Greek* imports a *Wolf*, made it be thought he was transformed into that fierce and ravenous animal. *Lycaon* had been at first very much beloved

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by his People, whom he taught to lead a less savage Life than they had done before.

Suidas relates the Fable of the Repast we have been speaking of, according to a Tradition which appears itself a new Fable. *Lycaon*, says that Author, to incline his Subjects to the Observance of the Laws which he had enacted, gave out that *Jupiter* made him frequent Visits in his Palace, under the Figure of a Stranger. His Children, in order to find out the Truth of this, when their Father was going to offer Sacrifice to that God, mixed among the Flesh of the Victims that of a young Child whose Throat they cut, being persuaded that none but *Jupiter* could discover it: But a violent Tempest having arose with an impetuous Wind, Flashes of Lightning reduced to Ashes all the Authors of this Crime; and it was upon this Occasion, we are told, that *Lycaon* instituted the *Lupercalia*.

According to *Pausanias*, *Lycaon's* Posterity settled in *Arcadia* and the neighbouring Provinces, where they built several Cities; but of them I have already spoke in the Beginning of this Volume, upon Occasion of the *Grecian* Colonies. The Author now quoted, appears to me too credulous as to the Article of *Lycaon's* Transformation into a Wolf.

“ The Thing, says he, is not incredible; for be-
 “ sides that the Fact passes current among the *Arcadi-*
 “ *ans*, there is nothing in it against Probability; and
 “ indeed, the first Inhabitants of that Country often
 “ entertained the Gods in their Houses, and at their
 “ Tables: this was the Reward of their Justice and
 “ Piety: The Good were honoured with the Society
 “ of the Gods, while the Bad were visited with im-
 “ mediate Tokens of their Anger. Hence some were
 “ then exalted to a divine Nature; and for the con-
 “ trary Reason we may presume that *Lycaon* was de-
 “ based to a Brute, and *Niobe* turned to a Rock.”

After the Death of *Lycaon*, *Nyctimus* the eldest of his Sons succeeded him, while his Brothers went and sought their Fortunes in different Parts of the World, as has been said in the Passage I have already quoted.

As

Chap. III. explained by HISTORY. 365

As *Arcas* the Son of *Calisto* ascended the Throne after *Nyctimus*, and had a numerous Posterity, 'tis probable that the History of *Arcadia* made no mention of the Fable related by *Ovid*, which says that Prince, when very young, was caught up to Heaven with his Mother, whom *Juno* had transformed into a Bear, just as he was going to shoot her with an Arrow.

C H A P. III.

The History of Narcissus, Echo, Pyramus and Thisbe.

NARCISSUS, born at *Thespia*, a City in *Beotia*, as we learn from *Conon* (1), was a Youth of exquisite Beauty, and passed for the Son of *Cepheus*; that is, no doubt, of the Prince who gave his Name to that River. Falling in love with his own Figure, which he saw in a Well, he dwelt so long in contemplating it, not knowing that what he saw was nothing but his own Shadow, that he pined away with Love and Desire: Thus it is that *Ovid* relates this Fable; but *Pausanias* (2), tho' in other respects credulous enough, says this is a Story composed for Amusement. " For what probability, says he, is there that a young Man should be so senseless as to be taken with himself, as one is with another; and not be able to distinguish a Shadow from a Substance? Accordingly there is another Tradition, less known indeed, but which wants not however its Partisans and Authors. " We are told that *Narcissus* had a Twin-Sister who perfectly resembled him; she had the same Air of Face, the same Hair, they often dressed like one another, and hunted together. *Narcissus* fell in love with his Sister, but had the Misfortune to lose her. " After this Disaster, abandoning himself to Melancholy, he frequented the Banks of a Fountain, whose Water was like a Mirrour, and there he took Pleasure

(1) Narr. 24. (2) In Beot.

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“ sure in contemplating himself, not but he knew it
 “ was his Shadow, but in seeing it he thought he saw
 “ his Sister, which gave him some Consolation. As
 “ for the Flowers which are called *Narcisses*, if we believe
 “ *Pamplus*, they are older than this Adventure, for long
 “ before *Narcissus* the *Thespian* was born, according to
 “ that Poet, the Daughter of *Ceres* was gathering Flowers
 “ in a Meadow, when she was ravished by *Pluto*; and
 “ the Flowers, he says, she was gathering, and which
 “ *Pluto* made use of to seduce her, were *Narcisses*
 “ and not *Violets*.”

Perhaps after all, the Manner of *Narcissus*'s Death has no other Foundation but his Name, which is derived from a Greek Word that signifies, *to be benumbed, without Sensation*, whence soporifick Druggs are called *Narcotic*. I say, the Manner of his Death, for the Ground of the Story is true. As this young Man had shewed nothing but disdain to all Persons who conceived an Affection for him, *Love* himself is said to have taken Vengeance upon him for his Indifference, by making him in love with himself; and *Ovid*, whose Turn is always to the Marvellous, has considered this Story in a Light that best answered that End. It is related more naturally by *Conon*, as also by *Pausanias*. We are told, that after this Adventure the *Thespians* honoured *Love* with a particular Worship.

Echo. This Youth it seems was destined to have none but Phantoms the Objects of his Passions, and of those which he inspired, since *Ovid* adds to what has been now said, that the Nymph *Echo* fell in love with him, and that his Disdain obliged her to retire into Caves and Rocks, where she retained nothing but the Voice; a physical Fable that requires no Regard.

Pyramus and Thisbe. That of *Pyramus* and *Thisbe*, which *Ovid* relates in the fourth Book of his *Metamorphoses*, contains one of those particular Facts which the Passions too often produce. We are told that those two Lovers, to whose Amour their Parents were averse, appointed to meet together under
 a Mul-

A Mulberry-tree that was without the City. *Thisbe* arrived there first, and being forced to hide herself at sight of a Lion, her Scarf which she drop'd, was besmear'd with Blood by that Animal, whereby *Pyramus* who arrived soon after, being led to believe she was devoured by the Lion, killed himself for Grief. *Thisbe* immediately returning, and being fully convinced by the Sight of the Scarf, that her Lover had killed himself from a false Persuasion that she was dead, stabb'd herself to the Heart with the same Sword. This Fact, in short, is no where to be met with but in *Ovid* and *Hyginus* (1).

Ovid sometimes cursorily mentions several similar Stories that seem to stand by themselves. That of one *Daphnis*, to whom he gives no other Designation, transformed into a Rock for having been insensible to the Charms of a young Shepherdess, is said however to be founded upon this, that his Wife, to make him love her, gave him some Potion that made him stupid and insensible.

Daphnis transformed to a Rock.

The Transformation of *Hemus* King of *Thrace*, and his Wife, into Mountains, for having affected to be adored under the Names of *Jupiter* and *Jano*, intimates to us, that the Impiety of this Prince and his Wife was punished, and that they both perished perhaps in the Mountains, whither the People, incensed to see them compare themselves to Gods, had obliged them to retire.

Hemus and Rhodope transformed to Mountains.

The same Poet tells us, that the Nymph of the Fountain *Salmacis*, having attempted to embrace *Hermaphroditus*, the Son of *Mercury* and *Venus* (a), was the Occasion of his changing Sex; upon which the Mythologists have vented many idle Notions: What had given rise to the Fable was this. There was in *Caria*, near the City of *Halicarnassus*, as we learn from *Vitruvius*, a Fountain which had effect

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(1) Fab. 242.

(a) *Hermaphroditus* is a Word compounded of *Hermes*, which in Greek signifies *Mercury*, and *Apbrodite*, the Name of *Venus*.

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to civilize some Barbarians, who having been expelled by the Colony which the *Argives* planted in that City, were obliged to come thither to draw Water ; and this Intercourse with the *Greeks* not only refined their Manners, but by Degrees infected them with the Luxury of that voluptuous Nation ; and this is what gave that Fountain the Character of having Virtue to change the Sex. We may also suppose that the Water of this Fountain enervated the Mind, and rendered those effeminate who drank of it, as there are others that make People stupid or furious. *Lyllo Giraldi* (1) will have the Foundation of the Fable to be, that this Fountain being inclosed with Walls, Adventures used to happen there from time to time which gave it this Character ; but as that Mythologist proves not his Conjecture, it is better to adopt *Strabo's* Reflection, who says he knows not why that Fountain was under so bad Fame, since Effeminacy proceeds much less from the Air or Water, than from Riches and Luxury. This Fable is written by our Poet, in a Manner that sets forth but too plainly the Effects of Voluptuousness.

To these Metamorphoses the same Poet *Celmis*. subjoins that of *Celmis*, who, we are told (2), being faithful to *Jupiter* during his Infancy, became at last so indiscreet, as to deserve to be transformed into an Adamant. *Pliny*, who considers this Fable as a Piece of History, says *Celmis* was a young Man of great Wisdom and Moderation, and over whom the Passions had no Influence ; and that this is the Reason of his being transformed into an Adamant. Some of the Ancients will have it that *Celmis*, for having revealed *Jupiter*, to whom he was Foster-father, to be Mortal, was shut up in an impenetrable Tower, which was therefore called the Adamant. Others in fine alledge, that he was always faithful to *Jupiter*, and that this God, by way of Recompence, heap'd Wealth and Riches upon him.

CHAP.

(1) Synt. 5. (2) Met. l. 4.

C H A P. IV.

The History of the Pygmies, and of Pygas their Queen; of their Battles with the Cranes and Partridges; where we examine what is meant by the Pygmies, whereof the Prophet Ezekiel speaks.

THERE are few Fables in Antiquity more celebrated than that of the *Pygmies*. Homer, the first who has mentioned them, employs this Fiction only in a Simile; but that same Simile comprehends the most considerable Part of it:

*Thus by their Leader's Care each martial Band
Moves into Ranks, and stretches o'er the Land.
With Shouts the Trojans rushing from afar,
Proclaim their Motions, and provoke the War:
So when inclement Winters vex the Plain
With piercing Frosts, or thick-descending Rain,
To warmer Seas the Cranes embody'd fly,
With Noise and Order thro' the mid-way Sky;
To Pygmy-Nations Wounds and Death they bring,
And all the War descends upon the Wing.*

Pope's Iliad. iii. 1.

Several Poets who are later than Homer, (for we have not now among the Works of *Hesiod*, what *Strabo* says he wrote of them) have mostly spoke of the *Pygmies* in the same manner. *Nonnus* has used the same Simile, in speaking of *Bacchus's* Army: *Ovid* in his *Metamorphoses*, and in his *Fastes* (1): *Antoninus Liberalis*, *Juvenal*, in a Word almost all the Poets, have copied *Homer*; *Statius* (2) adds to this Tradition that the *Pygmies* have all the Advantage in the Battles they wage with the *Cranes*. *Claudian* describes the Return of these Fowls after having fought with the *Pygmies*. But other Authors more adventurous have attempted to refine upon *Homer's* Ideas. *Juvenal* (3) speaking of the Stature of the *Pygmies*, says they were but one Foot

B b high.

(1) Met. l. 6. & Fast. l. 6. (2) L. 1. Sylv. 6. (3) Sat. 13.

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high. According to others, they were Dwarfs, who being mounted on Horses and Rams of a Size proportional to their own, armed themselves compleatly to go out to battle against Fowls, which came every Year from *Scythia* to attack them, as we learn from *Pliny* after *Aristotle*; or who had their Chariots drawn by Partridges, as we are told of *Basilis* in *Atbenæus* (1). According to others, their Wives bore Children at the Age of three or five Years, and were superannuated at eight. Their Cities and Houses, as *Pliny* tells us (2), were only built of Egg-shells, and those who dwelt in the Country, according to *Aristotle* and *Philostratus*, had no other Retreat but Holes which they wrought in the Earth, whence they came out in the time of Harvest, to cut down their Corn with Axes, as if it had been to fell a Wood. We see in *Ovid* (3) and *Eliau* (4), a Queen of the *Pygmies* who is so vain of her Beauty as to despise *Juno*, who transforms her into a Crane; and in *Philostratus*, an Army of these little Men, that attacking *Hercules* when asleep, after the Defeat of *Antæus*, and taking all the same Precautions for the Conquest of him, as we would for forming a Siege. The two Wings of this little Army fall upon the right Hand of that Heroe, and while the main Body attacks the left, and the Archers lay close Siege to his Feet, the King, with the bravest of his Subjects, assaults the Head. *Hercules* awakes, and smiling at the Enterprize of these Myrmidons, folds them up in the Skin of the Lion of *Nemea*, and carries them to *Eurystheus*.

What is particular in this Fable, is that the Historians speak of it in the same manner with the Poets, without any softening or Restriction; and they who often help out the Mythologists, when the Question is to reduce these ancient Fictions to Probability, serve only in this Occasion to encrease their Difficulty. In fact, *Ctesias*, *Nonnesus* (5), *Pliny* (6), *Solinus*, *Pomponius Mela* (7), *Basilis* in *Atbenæus* (8), *Onesicritus*, *Aristæus*

(1) L. 9. (2) L. 9. (3) Met. I. 6. (4) Hist. Anim. (5) Phot. Narr. 40. (6) Loc. cit. (7) L. 3. (8) L. 9. c. 4.

istæus, and *Egeſias* in *Aulus Gellius*; even the Fathers of the Church, *Saint Auguſtin* (1), *Saint Jerome* (2); ll are agreed as to the Exiſtence of *Pygmies*, their little Stature, and their Battles with the *Cranes*. *Ariſtote* eſpecially ſeems fully perſuaded thereof: *What we are told of the Pygmies*, ſays he, *is not a Fable, but Matter of fact.*

There is not ſuch Uniformity among the Hiſtorians; when they ſpeak of the Country of the *Pygmies*. *Pbi- oſtratus* and *Pliny* place them in the *Indies*, towards the Sources of the *Ganges*, and the latter, who compiled different Relations, makes them inhabit ſometimes towards the northern Extremities of *Europe*, ſometimes towards the Banks of the *Strymon* or *Hebrus*. *Stephen* of *Byzantium* gives them a *Greek* Original; but the moſt ancient Authors place them in *Ethiopia*; and there it is we are actually to ſeek for them, as we ſhall ſee in the Sequel.

Modern Authors are ſtill more divided than the Ancients, concerning this little People and the Country which they inhabited. Some make them dwell in *Lapland*, others in *Thuringia*, &c. But I refer thoſe who want to be more fully acquainted with their Opinions, to the Diſſertation I have made upon this Subject, which is printed in the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles-Lettres (3). But of all the Opinions of the Learned, the moſt ſingular is that of a *German* Profeſſor, named *Wonderart* (a). According to this Author, the Fable of the *Pygmies* and *Cranes* contains the Hiſtory of two People who inhabited *Megar*, namely, the *Pageans* and *Geranians*. After long Wars the *Geranians* got the better, and gave Laws to the *Pageans*. *Hom*er, he adds, going upon the Similitude of Names, alludes to this Hiſtory, repreſenting it under the Emblem of the *Cranes* and *Pygmies*; this is the whole Myſtery. The Poets, to give their Readers Variety,

B b 2

made

(1) De Civ. Dei. (2) In Ezek. (3) Tom. 5. p. 101.

(a) The Work wherein that Author advances this Opinion is entitled: *Hermani Wonderart deſectia Mythologia Græcorum, in decantato Pygmæorum, Gruum & Perdicum bello*, Lipſiæ, 1714.

made frequent Use of such Figures; and the whole Art of Poetry consisted in transferring the History of neighbouring and known Nations, to Countries remote. When *Ovid* and *Antoninus Liberalis*, says this Author, tell us that the *Pygmies* were governed by a Woman, this imports that the *Pageans* fell under the Dominion of the *Geranians*, who had always been inferior to them before; and when *Eliau* asserts that the *Pygmies* paid divine Honours to their new Queen, 'tis that the *Pageans* truckled to their new Masters; and if 'tis fabled that this same Queen was transformed into a Crane, and that she was obliged to fly away to avoid the Resentment of her Subjects, the Meaning in short is, that the *Pageans* shook off the Yoke, and forced the *Geranians* to betake themselves to the Mountains, where their City stood.

When once we are entered into the Field of Conjectures, 'tis no difficult Matter to make Conquests therein. In the time of their Prosperity, adds the *German* Professor, the *Geranians* grew so insolent as to contemn their Neighbours; the Cities of *Corinth*, *Athens*, *Thermus*, *Oropus*, they looked upon as Rivals with which they might dispute the Empire of *Greece*. This is what makes *Eliau* say, that *Gerane* had preferred her Beauty to that of *Juno*, *Minerva*, *Diana* and *Venus*, who represented the four Cities now named; and whereas *Ovid* adds that *Juno* had transformed her into a Crane, he means that the *Corinthians*, with the Assistance of other Cities, having vanquished the *Geranians*, writ a bloody Satyr against them, wherein *Corinth*, or *Epbire*, was represented under the Name of *Juno*, Ἥρα; *Athens* under that of *Minerva*, Ἀθήνη; *Thermus* under that of *Diana* Ἄρτεμις; and *Oropus* under that of *Venus*, Ἀφροδίτη. The *Pageans* and *Geranians*, in this ingenious Writer, were only a despicable Race of Mortals, whose Vanity was justly the Jest of their Neighbours; and, according to the Analogy of their Names, they were called *Cranes* and *Pygmies*.

But what Arguments can be brought in Support of so singular an Opinion? 'Tis true these Towns were in Greece

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Greece which the learned Author speaks of; but no where is Mention made of their Wars, far less of that *Corinthian* Satire, which will never pass for any thing but a mere Fiction of the Author. Where is *Corinth* represented under the Name of *Juno*, *Thermus* under that of *Diana*, and *Oropus* under that of *Venus*? But, says he, the Poets to disguise their Subjects, often transported the Scenes of them into remote Countries. This is his great Principle, which he repeats in every Page; and yet nothing is more contrary to Truth. *Homer* is so exact in not changing the Places which his Heroes had travelled thro', that he has always been reckoned an excellent Geographer, and *Strabo* often fixes the Situation of those Places from his Descriptions: *Virgil* and the other Poets have followed the same Method. If we read *Ovid's* *Metamorphoses* those especially that have a plain Connection with History, we shall see that he has scrupulously preserved the Names of Countries where the Events he describes had happened.

But, not to dwell upon the Refutation of an Opinion which falls to the Ground of itself, I ask if there would be any Hazard in following, with Relation to the *Pygmies*, a Tradition which relies upon so great a Number of Testimonies? May not one, under the Protection of so great Authority, adopt all that has been delivered upon this Subject? Perhaps, in an Age less enlightened, and where Criticism would prescribe less severe Limitations, we might follow an Opinion which seems at first Sight to be so well supported; but Number of Votes is not always a Test of Truth; Authors often copy one another; and 'tis surprizing that after a long List, the Authority of the first is frequently the only one that needs to be examined. Now *Homer*, who is at the Head of the Catalogue now given, is a Poet who upon all Occasions intermixes ingenious Fictions with uncertain Traditions. *Aristotle*, a graver Author, speaks indeed in the Affirmative; and because the most authentic Relations give us no Account of the pretended Battles of the *Cranes* and *Pygmies*, *Pomponius Mela* is forced to say that the Reason why that little

People is not to be found now a Days, is that they were destroyed by the *Cranes*: *Contra Grues, dimicando defecit.* A Solution more becoming a tragic Poet, than an Historian.

Before I give my own Opinion, I would remark in the first Place, that the *Greeks*, transported with the Marvellous, employed it upon all Occasions; always exaggerating whatever came to them from foreign Countries. They had heard of some Men of an extraordinary Stature; and they wanted no more to form their Giants capable of plucking up the highest Mountains by the Roots. In like manner they had heard that there was in *Ethiopia* a People extraordinary little in Proportion to other Men: Being fond of contrasting them with the Giants, they imagined their *Pygmies*, that is, according to the Etymology of the Word, Men who were but a Cubit high; as if Nature deviated so far from the order she follows in her Works. For my Part, therefore, I am of Opinion that the *Pecbinians* are the true *Pygmies* of *Homer*: and indeed, there is all the Probability in the World, that it was the Resemblance of the Name, and the small Stature of that People, gave the *Greeks* a Handle to call them *Pygmies*, from the Word *πυγμή*, the *Fist*, or rather from *πυγών*, which signifies a *Cubit*, and bears such Conformity to the Name of the *Pecbinians*, that there seems to be a perfect Analogy between them. The Poets did not always seek after so remarkable a Resemblance, to found their Fables upon. They had heard from the Relations of some Travellers, that the *Pecbinians* were of a little Stature; that the *Cranes* removed in Winter to their Country, and that those People assembled together to destroy them; what excellent Materials has a *Greek* Poet here out of which to form so pretty a Fable as that which I am explaining!

But it is not mere Conjecture which I advance in Support of my Opinion; I shall make it appear that whatever has been fabled of the *Pygmies* agrees to the *Pecbinians*. First, the Ancients assure us that there were in *Ethiopia* Men of a very little Size, and *Herodotus*

dotus (1) relates that some young *Nesamones*, having a Mind, from a Spirit of Curiosity, to penetrate into the Deserts of *Afric*, had found Men extremely little, who inhabited a City thro' which a River passed, which *Etearchus* King of the Country, who told the Story, believed to be the *Nile*. *Diodorus Siculus* and *Strabo*, not to mention others, are also agreed that there were such little Men in diverse Countries of *Africa*; and *Aristotle* adds, that the same Littleness was to be seen also in the Animals.

In like manner, *Nonnosus*, as we read in *Photius*, found in the same Country Men of a little Stature; and *Ctesias* had said the same long before him (2). Modern Travellers, whose Authority here is of great Weight, are agreed with the Ancients, as to the little Stature of the *Ethiopians*. *Bergier* and *Alvares* (3) say so expressly of the *Nubians*: *Job Ludolphus* (4) says these People are generally very little, and 'tis from among them, if we may believe *Thevenot* (5), that almost all the little Men are got, who are sent to the Courts of the Princes of the *Levant*. All these Relations are conformable to *Hesychius* who confounds the *Pygmies* with the *Nubians*, Νύσσα Πυγμαίοι. But what still further confirms this Opinion, we must look for the *Pygmies* in the Country to which the *Cranes* retire at the Approach of Winter. Now 'tis certain that this is *Ethiopia*, as we read in *Aristotle* (6); and if *Homer* and *Nonnus* say it is near the Ocean, it is because in Reality the *Nile*, anciently called the Ocean, runs there. Now there it was precisely that the *Pecbinians* dwelt, and that M. *Delisle*, in his Map of *Africa*, places the *Bakkes*, who, according to the Analogy of their Name, can be no other but the *Pecbinians* of *Ptolomy*.

As for the Fables about them which I have delivered, they are to be looked upon as poetical Imaginations; amongst others, that of the little Stature, which *Juvenal* ascribes to them; for tho' it may be true,

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(1) Lib. 2. (2) Phot. bib. n. 3. (3) See the Travels of that Author. (4) Comm. upon the History of *Ethiopia*. (5) Collection of Travels. (6) Hist. Anim. l. 8. c. 18.

as in Fact it is, that excessive Heat, or excessive cold cramps the Growth of Animals, and that this is the Reason why the *Laplanders* and the other Northern Nations, as also those in the torrid Zone, are of a smaller Size than those in the temperate Zones, yet this never goes to the Excesses which that Poet speaks of. Thus as the tallest Men we know are little more than six Foot high, those of the small Size will be three and a half or four. As for some Examples that may be brought of Dwarfs that are less, 'tis plain no Consequence can be drawn from thence for a whole People, any more than from those of some Giants who have far exceeded the Stature of ordinary Men.

As for the Battle between the *Pygmies* and the *Cranes*, we may suppose the *Pecbinians* assembled together in a certain Season of the Year to hunt those Fowls, and to hinder them from breeding there, and from devouring their Crop. Those who will have it that the *Pygmies* dwelt in the Holes of the Earth, have confounded them with the *Troglodytes*, who were in the same Country, and who got that Name because they resided in Caves.

The Fable of *Pygas*, whom *Ovid* makes (1) *Pygas*. to have been transformed into a *Crane*, and who afterwards waged with her People a bloody War, is easy to be explained, to one who has read *Antoninus Liberalis* (2). For this Author assures us, upon the Faith of *Boëus*, whose *Theogony* he cites upon this Occasion, that there was among the *Pygmies*, that is, no doubt, among the People to whom the *Greeks* gave that Name, a Princess very handsome, named *Oenoe*, who greatly oppressed her People. Having married *Nicodamas*, she had a Son by him named *Mopsus*, whom her Subjects took away from her to educate him after their Manner. The Cruelty of this Queen, her Insolence, or perhaps the bare Name of *Gerané*, the *Greek* Name of a *Crane*, which she bore, according to *Eliau*, gave rise to the Fable of her being transformed into that Fowl. The War, which *Ovid* says she waged with her

(1) *Metam.* l. 6. (2) *Met.* l. 10.

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er People, probably arose upon Account of the carrying away of the young Prince.

We shall close this Article with a few Words concerning the *Pygmies* which *Ezekiel* speaks of. That Prophet, after he has given a fine Description of the City *Tyre* and its Advantages, says, according to the *Vulgate*; *but the Pygmies that were upon your Walls, have compleated your Beauty (a)*. Interpreters are very much at a Loss how to explain this Passage, and according to them it would seem that the *Pygmies*, forced to give way to the *Cranes* who made continual War upon them, had retired to the Coasts of *Phenicia* to list themselves under the Service of the *Tyrians*, who posted them upon their Turrets; as if such kind of Soldiers could have been any Ornament to a City, which, according to the same Prophet, had among its Troops Soldiers of almost all Nations. 'Tis very true, the *Septuagint* Names these Soldiers, whoever they were, simply *Φύλακες*, *Guards*; and in another reading *Μηδαι*, *Medes*; the *Chaldean* Text has *Gapadin*, the *Cappadocians*, having changed the M into Π; but the *Hebrew* uses the Word *Gammadin*; and as *Gomed* signifies a *Cubit*, this is what had given occasion to the Author of the *Vulgate*, to *St. Jerom* and *Aquila*, to translate this Word by that of *Pygmæi*.

The Source of the Ambiguity is thereby proved; but it still remains to know who were these *Gammadins* who had been put upon the Towers of *Tyre*. Were they real *Pygmies*, as *Schottus*, *Bartolin* and some Interpreters have said after *R. Chimchi*? Or the Inhabitants of *Megiddo*, as other Authors have advanced; or simply *Guards*, as *Forsterus* will have it (1); or lastly, the *Gamaliens*, of whom *Pliny* speaks? For my part, after having carefully examined this Passage, since the Prophet seems to prefer the *Gammadians* to the *Perians*, *Affyrians*, *Greeks*, and all the other Nations who had

(a) *Sed & Pygmæi qui erant in turribus tuis Pharetras suas suspenderunt in muris tuis per gyrum, ipsi compleverunt pulchritudinem tuam.*

(1) *Lib. 21. 19.*

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had joined in the Army of the *Tyrians*, and adds that they made the Ornament of their City ; I am of Opinion that he means Divinities that had been set upon the Towers with their Arms and Arrows, as the Gods *Pataici* upon the Prows of Ships, whereof they made the principal Ornament ; and that both the one and the other were represented by little Idols, as *Herodotus* expressly says of the latter, which *Cambyfes* found in the Temple of *Vulcan* in *Egypt*, and which, according to that Historian, resembled *Pygmies*.

This cuts off the Conjectures of Commentators, who, upon the bare Signification of the Word *Gomed*, set up *Pygmies* upon the Towers of *Tyre*, instead of finding in the Passage of the Prophet, either a People robust and dextrous at handling the Bow, and named after the rest, as the most distinguished ; or the tutelar Gods of an idolatrous City which placed all its Confidence in them.

C H A P. V.

The History of Cephalus and Procris.

THE Fable of *Cephalus* and *Procris*, is one of those which *Ovid* describes at greatest Length, and with most Elegance. History informs us that this Prince, the Son of *Deioneus* King of *Phocis*, was one of the most accomplished of his Time. As he had a passionate Love for the Chace, and rose up early every Morning to that Exercise, hence he was said to be enamour'd with *Aurora*. *Procris* his Wife, who was in love with *Pteleon*, as we learn from *Apollodorus*, no doubt propagated this Report, in order to hide or justify her Intrigue. In the mean Time, *Cephalus* who had some Jealousy of her, quitted the Country where he commonly resided, and returned to *Thoricus* where the Queen dwelt. *Procris*, hearing of her Husband's Return, fled to the Court of *Minos* II. who fell in love with her, and at parting with her some time after, made her a Present of an excellent Dog, which he thought would be agreeable to *Cephalus*. Accordingly she

she gave it to him, in order to be reconciled to him. This Dog, which *Ovid* calls *Lelapus*, was given out to be the Work of *Vulcan*; who had given him to *Jupiter*, and he to *Minos*, *Minos* to *Procris*, and she to her Husband, who made him over to *Amphitryo*, to deliver the Confines of *Thebes* from a Fox that made great Havock there, and to which the *Thebans*, from a Superstition no less impious than cruel, exposed every Month one of their Children, believing that this would save the rest from the Fury of that Animal. This Fox, the Instrument of *Bacchus*'s Vengeance upon the *Thebans*, laid waste, as *Pausanias* tells us, the Confines of *Teumessus*. *Ovid* adds, that just as *Lelapus* was going to catch him, they were both transformed into Stones; but at bottom this Fable signifies only that the Country was delivered from some Robber, who made great Desolation therein, and who was pursued as far as his Retreat; which gave rise to his Metamorphosis (1).

Cephalus at last was reconciled to his Wife, but having killed her in hunting, tho' by Mischance, it was presumed to be from some Remains of Resentment he still retained against her; and the *Areopagus*, the Judge in this Affair, condemned him to perpetual Exile (2). His Son *Celeus* succeeded him, and reigned in the Island of *Cephalenia*: *Celeus* was the Father of *Acrisius*, Grandfather of *Ulysses*, who led to *Troy* the *Cephalenians* with the *Ithacians*. *Oeneus*, the second Son of *Cephalus*, reigned in *Phocis* after the Death of his Grandfather *Deioneus*. *Cephalus* lived in the Time of *Minos* II. that is, about an hundred Years before the *Trojan* War.

I know none but *Apollodorus* (3), who admits two *Cephalus*'s, the one the Son of *Mercury* and *Herse* the Daughter of *Cecrops*, the other the Son of *Deioneus* King of *Phocis*, and *Diomedes* the Daughter of *Xutus* (4). The first was ravished by *Aurora*, and went and dwelt with her in *Syria*, where he had a Son by her named *Sisibon*, the Father of *Phaeton*. The second married

Procris

(1) See *Palephatus*. (2) *Apollod.* l. 3. *Pauf.* &c. (3) *L.* 3.
(4) *Idem.* l. 1.

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Procris the Daughter of *Erechtheus* King of *Athens*. However in the third Book that Author seems to confound the Actions of those two Princes. *Ovid*, and after him all the Ancients, speak only of the Daughter of *Deioneus*; who was ravished by *Aurora*, and who having deserted her, returned to *Procris*.

C H A P. VI.

The History of Ceyx and Alcyone, of Philammon, Autolycus, Kioné, and Thamiras.

Ceyx and Alcyone. **T**HIS is satisfactory to an Author, when as he advances in his Work, he sees his Principles confirmed by new Examples. I have said more than once, after *Lactantius* (1), that the Poets did not invent the Groundwork of their Fables, but only superadded to them the Ornaments of Poetry. Of this the Fable of *Ceyx* and *Alcyone* is a convincing Argument. That Prince, Cotemporary with *Hercules*, on whom he performed the Ceremony of Expiation, is very well known in the *Grecian* History. *Pausanias* tells us, that (2) *Eurystheus* having summoned *Ceyx* to give up to him the Children of *Hercules*, that Prince finding himself not strong enough to maintain a War against so powerful a King, sent those young Princes to *Theseus*, who took them under his Protection. *Ceyx* married *Alcyone*, whose Genealogy is in the first Book of *Apoliodorus*. To deliver himself from the Melancholy into which he was plunged by the Death of *Deidalion* his Brother, and that of his Niece *Kioné*, *Ceyx* went to *Claros* to consult the Oracle of *Apollo*. He was shipwreck'd in his Return, and *Alcyone* was so afflicted upon that Account, that she died for Grief, or threw herself into the Sea, as we read in *Ovid* and *Hyginus*. It was fabled that they were both transformed into Kings-fishers; a Circumstance which has no other Foundation but the Name of that Princess: Perhaps the Harmony and Affection between those two Spouses made

(1) Div. Inst. l. 1. (2) In Attic.

made them be compared to those Birds, which are accounted the Emblem of conjugal Love. *Apollodorus* (1) gives not so favourable an Idea as *Ovid*, of the Affection of these two Persons. According to that Author, they were ruined by their Pride. *Jupiter* incensed against that Prince for assuming his Name, and against *Alcyone* for taking that of *Juno*, transformed the one into a Didapper, and the other into a Kingfisher. *Alcyone* was the Daughter of *Eolus*, not he who was the God of the Winds, as *Ovid* alledges, but of the Son of *Hellen*, of *Deucalion's* Race.

I shall say nothing farther here about the time when *Ceyx* lived, the *Æra* thereof being sufficiently known from the History of *Hercules*, *Telamon*, and other Heroes who were his Contemporaries.

If we now compare these historical Facts with the magnificent and pompous Description which *Ovid* gives of them (2), we shall see how much a truly poetical Imagination is capable of embellishing Subjects upon which it exercises itself, tho' almost always at the Expence of Truth, which it little regards.

It will not be from the Purpose to subjoin here what Antiquity informs us concerning *Philammon*, *Autolycus* and *Kioné* (a), upon Account of the Connection which their History has with that I have now given. *Philammon* of *Delphos*, the same who composed Poems upon the Birth of *Latona*, *Diana* and *Apollo*, that were sung, and who was the first that founded Choirs of Musick in the Temple of *Delphos*, was Twin-Brother to *Autolycus*, *Ulysses's* Grandfather by the Mother's Side, and known by his crafty Pieces of Theft. They were the Sons of the Nymph *Kioné*, whom some call *Philonis*, and whose Father *Deion* or *Dedalion* (3), the Brother of *Ceyx* King of *Trachine*, dwelt in the Con-

Philammon, Autolycus and Kioné.

fines

(1) L. 1. (2) Met. l. 11.

(a) See the Remarks of M. Burette upon *Plutarch's* Treatise of Musick, *Mém. de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres*, Tom. 10. whence I have taken this whole Article Word for Word, being persuaded that nothing could be added to it.

(3) Hygin. Fab. 200.

finer of the *Parnassus*. The Beauty of this Nymph, if we may believe the Poets and Mythologists (1), made *Apollo* and *Mercury* fall in love with her; and that on one and the same Day, and of these Amours at the end of nine Months were born *Autolycus* and *Philammon*, the first of whom was owned for the Son of *Mercury*, and the second of *Apollo*. *Kroné* (2), vain of having pleased these two Divinities, presumed to prefer herself to *Diana*; she was punished by that Goddess who killed her with her Arrows; which has no other Foundation but her hasty Death, according to the Principle I have established in more Places of this Work than one. Her Father, afflicted with the Death of an only Daughter whom he affectionately loved, was transformed into a Hawk; a Fiction which is probably owing to his having quitted the Country, and settled in some remote Place.

Philammon derived from his Father (3) the Talent of Poetry and Musick, improving both by the Melodiousness of his Voice, with which he accompanied the Notes of the Lyre. His Son was the famous *Thamiras* (4). *Tatian* (5) ranks this Poet and Musician among the Writers who flourished before *Homer*, and the Scholiast on *Apollonius Rhodius* (6) after *Pherecydes*, says it was he, and not *Orpheus*, who accompanied the *Argonauts* in their Expedition. *Pausanias* (7) tells us that at the *Pythic Games*, where Prizes were proposed for Poetry and Music, the first who gained them was *Chrysothemis* the Son of *Carmanor*; the second *Philammon*, (whom the learned French Translator, misled by the Latin Version, makes the Son of *Chrysothemis*) and the third *Thamiris*, or *Thamiras*; that *Orpheus*, and *Museus*, who affected to imitate the latter in every thing, distained to come upon the Field; and that another Musician, named *Eleutherus*, won the Prize there merely by the Graces of his Voice, tho' he had only sung

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(1) Idem. ibid. Schol. Anonym. Hom. Odyss. 19. v. 432. Ovid. loc. cit. (2) Ovid, ibid. (3) Ovid. ibid. v. 317. (4) Suidas Vcc. Philammon. (5) P. gl 136. & 139. Edit. Oxon. (6) L. 5. v. 33. (7) L. 10. c. 7.

honour of *Apollo* the Poems of others. Now this Poetry consisted in Hymns to the Honour of that God, which were sung to the Lyre and Harp.

From this Passage in *Pausanias* we may infer, observes *Fabricius* (1), that in those Games every Poet used to sing his own Verses and not those of others. The same Historian adds (2), that *Philammon* was renowned to have instituted the *Lernean* Mysteries; but at the Prose and Poetry employed in those Mysteries, both composed in the *Dorick* Dialect, belied so remote antiquity, since before the Return of the *Heraclide* into the *Peloponnesus*, the *Argives* had no other Dialect but the *Attic*; and in the time of *Philammon* the Name of *Ionians* was not so much as known. If we may believe *Plutarch*, *Philammon* composed not only Songs, wherein was celebrated the Birth of *Latona*, *Diana* and *Apollo*, but he was the Founder of those Choirs of Music which were sung about the Temple of *Delpbos*. These Choirs consisted of Companies of Men and Women, who danced as they sung the Praises of the Gods to the Sound of instrumental Music, which in the Pagan World made a considerable Part of divine Worship.

If Music made *Philammon* one of the most celebrated Men of his Time, it served only to make his Son *Thamiras*, whom he had by *Agiopé*, unfortunate. He, concerning whom the Reader will find Things interesting enough in *Bayle's* Critical Dictionary, and *Fabricius's* *Bibliotheca Græca*, tho' his Father dwelt at *Delpbos*, was born at *Brinelas*, a City of the *Edonians*, a People of *Thrace* (3), or at *Odrysus*, a City in the same Country, whither his Mother had fled to conceal her big Belly, upon *Philammon's* refusing to marry her. Educated in the Principles of an Art which his Father possessed in such Perfection, his Knowledge contributed only to his own Ruin. He had the Presumption to challenge the Muses themselves (4); they accepted the Challenge,

on

(1) Bib. Græc. l. i. c. 26. T. i. pag. 157. (2) L. 2. c. 37. p. 198. (3) *Suidas* upon the Word *Thamiras*. (4) Schol. Anon. upon *Homer*.

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on Condition that if he got the better they would be at his Discretion, and that if he was vanquished he would submit to the Punishment his Arrogance deserved. He had the Misfortune to be worsted in so unequal a Trial, and delivered over to the Vengeance of those incensed Deities, was at once deprived by them of his Sight, his Voice, his Reason, and his Talent of playing upon the Lyre, which in Despair he flung into a River of *Messenia*, that from thence took the Name of *Ballyra* (a).

Homer, speaking of the City *Dorion*, says it was there the Adventure happened of *Thamiras* with the Muses, which, according to *Pausanias*, was represented in the fine Picture of *Polygnotus*, the Subject whereof was *Ulysses's* Descent to Hell. There *Thamiras* appeared sitting near *Pelias*, with his Eyes put out, a forlorn down-cast Air, his Hair and Beard neglected, and his Lyre, whereof the two Branches and the Strings were broke, thrown at his Feet. Tho' the Authority of *Homer*, who mentions *Thamiras's* Trial with the Muses, ought to have great Weight with *Pausanias*, yet he seems persuaded that this celebrated Musician became blind only through bodily Indisposition, and that this Misfortune was common to him with *Homer*, with this Difference, that the latter was not discouraged by it, whereas the former renounced Poetry and Music for the rest of his Days. It was fabled after his Death that his Soul passed into a Nightingale, as that of *Orpheus* into a Swan, Emblems of the soft Airs which those two Musicians sung to the Notes of their Lyre. As *Thamiras* had learned Poetry and Music from *Linus*, whose Disciple he was with *Orpheus* and *Hercules*, 'tis easy to determine the Time when he lived, from that of his two Contemporaries, whose *Æras* I have fixed.

But let us not conceive too highly of this Music, nor of the Instruments that accompany'd it. So many Wonders, no doubt, were fabulously reported of it, only because till the Time of the Persons we have been speaking

(a) From two Greek Words: βαλλεῖν to throw and λύρα a Lyre.

saying of, nothing had been heard equal nor near to tho' at Bottom neither the Instruments nor the Art Composition were carried at that Time to a great degree of Perfection; and we may very well apply it *Horace* says of the first Players on the Flute, to Trumpet, the Lyle and the Harp (a).

C H A P. VII.

The History of Orion.

THE Fable of *Orion* is one of the most celebrated, and at the same time most obscure in Antiquity. Several modern Authors have tried their utmost to unfold the Meaning of it; and all endeavour, by giving their Opinions, to enable Reader to judge which has succeeded best. There is no Doubt but that it is built upon a historical Bottom; it is certain likewise that it is interspersed with a great deal of Astronomy. In the first Place, the Birth of *Orion* exhibits a Mystery equally indecent and obscure.

As *Jupiter*, we are told (1), *Neptune* and *Mercury* were travelling on the Earth, they lodged with *Hyrieus*, who, probably thro' a Fault of the Transcriber, is called *Byrseus* in *Hyginus*, and were so well pleased with the Entertainment they met with, that they asked what he wish'd for most, promising to grant it. *Hyrieus* answered that having no Children, this was the Thing he desired most; and a little Time after a Son was born, in the manner related by *Hyginus* (b),

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and

- 1) *Tibia non ut nunc Orichalco cincta, Tubæque
Æmula; sed tenuis simplexque firamine paucis,
Aspirare & adfisse Choris erat utilis, atque.
Nondum Spissa nimis complere sedilia statu.*

Art. Poet. 202.

- 2) *Euphorinus* and *Hyginus*.

b) *Jovis, Neptunus, Mercurius in Thraciam ad Byrseum regem spiritum venerunt: qui cum ab eis liberaliter essent accepti optionem darent, siquid peteret. Ille liberos optavit. Mercurius de tauro Hercules immolarat, corium protulit. Illi in eum urinam fecerunt, et terram obruerunt, unde natus est Orion.*

The Foundation of this Fiction is that it was after offering Sacrifice to these three Divinities, that *Hyrieus*, and not *Byrseus*, as some call him, had a Son according to his Desire.

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and all the other Mythologists, and from thence he got the Name of *Ourion*, or *Arion*. Afterwards, to deface the Memory of his Birth, the first Letter of his Name was changed, and he was called *Orion*; which *Ovid* expresses in this pentameter Verse.

Perdidit antiquum Littera prima sonum.

Homer, who speaks of *Orion* in more Places than one, says nothing of the Fable of his Birth, which probably was not invented in his time; and *Phericides*, cited by *Apollodorus*, says only he was the Son of *Euryalus*. *Homer* gives us no further Account of this celebrated Person, but that he was slain by *Diana*, wherein he is followed by all who came after him. This much is certain, that *Orion* signalized himself greatly by his Love of Astronomy, which, no doubt, he had learned from *Atlas*, who, according to *Homer*, dwelt in the Neighbourhood of *Tanagrus*, upon a high Mountain from whence he studied the Heavens, or in the Island of *Calypso* his Daughter.

Further, *Orion* was passionately fond of Hunting; which undoubtedly is the Foundation of the Connection of his History with that of *Diana*. He was one of the handsomest Men of his Time, and of so happy a Stature, that by a Hyperbole, overstrained indeed, he was said to be able to walk through the Waves of the Sea, and appear with his whole Head above Water (1); which imports that he was frequently upon the Sea in some Ship. To this Fiction they added, it was while he was thus traversing the Sea, that *Diana* seeing *Orion's* Head, and not knowing what it was, slew him with an Arrow; which signifies that he died in one of his maritime Expeditions.

He first married a Woman named *Fida* (2), whom Vanity destroyed; for having offered to compare her Beauty to that of *Juno*, this Goddess put her to Death. *Orion* having passed into the Island of *Cbios*, to return to *Tanagrus* in *Beotia* the Place of his Birth, asked *Oenopion* to give him his Daughter *Merope* in Marriage; but

(1) *Homer* *Odyss.* l. 1.

(2) *Phericides* in *Apollod.* l. 2.

he having put out his Eyes, after making him drunk, left him upon the Sea-shore (1). *Orion* having got up after his Pain was abated, arrived at a Forge, where having found a young Man, he took him upon his Shoulders, praying he would guide him to the Place where the Sun rises. Upon his Arrival there he recovered his Sight, and went and revenged himself upon *Oenopion* for his Cruelty.

This Circumstance of *Orion's* Life, fabulous as it is, may, I think, be explained by saying that the Wound of his Eyes not being incurable, he was cured perhaps with the Water of the Forge. *Apollo* adds that having distinguished himself in *Vulcan's* Art, he made a subterraneous Palace for *Neptune* his Father, and that *Aurora*, whom *Venus* had inspired with Love to him, ravished him and carried him to the Island of *Delos*; a new Fable, a Consequence of what I have now said of his Journey to the Place where the Sun rises, and which may be also explained like that of *Tithonus* and that of *Cephalus*, from his being so passionately fond of Hunting, as to rise very early for that Exercise, and from his going to settle in the Island of *Delos*.

Be that as it will, there it was that *Diana* shot him to Death with her Arrows, either because he had offered Violence to *Oris*, one of those Virgins who came from the Country of the *Hyperboreans*, to present their Offerings at *Delos*, as most of the Mythologists say; or, according to another Tradition, because he would needs constrain *Diana* to play at the Coit with him; or, if we may believe *Nasir*, for having dared to touch the Veil of that Goddess with an impure Hand: And as he died at the Time the Sun travels thro' the Sign of the Scorpion, it was fabled that this Animal had killed him with one of its Claws, and that *Diana* had made the Earth produce that Animal, to punish the Insult she had received from him; which, when strip'd of the Marvellous, signifies either that he died of some contagious Distemper, or in the Flower of his Age; for tho' Deaths of this kind were ascribed to *A-*

(1) *Idem. ibid.*

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pollo for the Men, as those of the Women were to *Diana*, yet there are Examples of the Death of some Men being attributed to that Goddess.

Pausanias says *Orion's* Tomb was to be seen at *Tanagra* in *Beotia*; but this was probably but a Cenotaph, since he was actually interred in *Delos*. *Homer* is the first who attributes *Orion's* Death to the Jealousy of *Diana*.

*So when Aurora sought Orion's Love,
Her Joys disturb'd your blisful Hours above,
'Till in Ortygia (1), Dian's winged Dart
Had pierc'd the hapless Hunter to the Heart.*

Pope's *Odyss.* 5. 155.

This Poet twice makes Mention of the same *Orion*.
(2). 1. When speaking of the goodly Mien of the two Sons of *Neptune* and *Tyro*, *Ephialtes* and *Otus*, he says they were inferior in Beauty to none but *Orion*.
2. In saying that in Hell he was incessantly employed in Hunting wild Beasts; intimating thereby that he had been a celebrated Hunter; for in the other World, according to the ancient Theology, every one employed himself in the same Exercises he had loved in his Life-time.

We may easily guess that the Circumstance of the three Divinities who lodge with *Orion's* Father led our *Hebraizers* to believe that this Fable was the same with, or at least a Copy of the Story of *Abraham's* entertaining the three Angels, who came and foretold to him the Birth of a Son, tho' *Sarah* his Wife was then superannuated. *M. le Clerc* (3) had this Notion of it, without insisting however upon the *Greek* and *Hebrew* Etymologies, which might have given some Probability to this Assertion. *Blaeu*, who took the Name of *Cæsius* (4), insinuates also that this same Fable had a great Resemblance to the Story of *Jacob*, so much the more as the Name of *Jacob's* Staff is given to the three brightest Stars

(1) This was the ancient Name of *Delos*. (2) *Odyss.* l. 11.

(3) *Bibl. Univ.* T. 6. (4) *Cæl. Poet. Astr. Art.* of *Orion*.

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Stars in the Constellation of *Orion*; and the Name of *Jacob*, which signifies *strong against the Lord*, upon Account of the mysterious Combat he had with an Angel, may have given rise to it. Besides the *Arabians* call the Constellation of *Orion*, *Algebar*, or *Algebar*, the Strong, the Giant. M. Michel, in a Work entitled *Fajiculi Bremenses*, labours to prove the Conformity of this Fable with the History of *Abraham* and his Wife; but the Proofs and Etymologies which he offers for it, are hardly conclusive. In fine, the *Abbé Fourmont*, of the Academy of Belles-Lettres, has given a very large Dissertation to prove that this Story is the same with that of the Patriarch; but as this Dissertation is not yet printed, it is not my Business to pre-possess the Public on this Head.

In general, these Authors have to say in Favour of their Sentiments, that *Orion* being of *Tanagrus*, a City of *Beotia*, the Country where *Cadmus* settled, and having introduced thither the Religion of the *Phenicians*, the History of *Abraham* so celebrated in all the East, might have been known there.

But without entering farther into such Discussions, we shall only observe that *Orion* was placed in the Heavens, where he forms the brightest of the Constellations; and as it occupies a great Space there, this may probably have given the Ancients, and particularly *Pindar*, Occasion to say that he was of a monstrously large Size, which *Manilius* expresses in these Words; *magni pars maxima cæli*. Nothing was more noted among the Ancients than this Constellation. It is even mentioned in several Places of the Bible (1), and both the Septuagint, and the Vulgate call it *Orion*, as well as the *Greeks*. *Lycophron* gives it the Name of *Tripater* for the Reason assigned by *Euphorion*, who also says the *Beotians* called it *Candaor*. The *Arabians* made a Woman of *Orion*, whom they called *Algiazza*, with whom her Husband, called *Sokeil*, was exceedingly enamoured (a).

C c 3

The

(1) Job. c. 9. v. 9. Ezek. c. 13. v. 10. Amos c. 5. v. 5.

(a) See *Thomas Hyde's Religion of the Persians* from Onug-Bec.

The Fable of the Daughters of *Orion*, who, according to *Ovid*, devoted themselves for the Preservation of *Thebes* infested with the Pestilence, and whose Ashes were transformed into young Men, undoubtedly signifies that their Example gave Courage to the young *Thebans*, who having till then led a soft and effeminate Life, had not Resolution to die for the Salvation of their Country.

C H A P. VIII.

An Explanation of the Fables of Byblis, and Caunus; of Iphis and Janthe, and Anaxarete; of Arion, &c.

Byblis and Caunus. **H**UMAN Nature often exhibits Scenes, which Passions not check'd in their Rise render equally criminal and dangerous. Such was the mad Passion of *Byblis* for her Brother *Caunus*, whereof we have the History in *Antoninus Liberalis* and *Ovid* (1) which they have embellished with a Circumstance that is only the Product of their own Imagination. They make this Maid travel over Countries in Quest of her Brother who fled from her, and at length bring her to *Caria*, where, according to the former, she was transformed into a *Hamadryad*, just as she was going to throw herself down from a Mountain; and according to the second, into a Fountain, which from that time bore her Name. They ought to have said on the contrary, that this Adventure happened in *Caria* itself, since it is certain, as we read in *Apollodorus* (2), and *Pausanias* (3), that *Miletus* their Father came from *Croie*, and planted a Colony in *Caria*, where he conquered a City, which he embellished and enlarged, and called it after his own Name: *Pausanias* adds that all the Men of that City having been slain during the Siege, the Conquerors married their Wives and Daughters. *Miletus* had for his Lot *Gyges*, the Daughter of *Mecander*; and the Issue of this Marriage were *Caunus* and *Byblis*. This Princess, having entertained a criminal Passion for her Brother, had

(1) Met. l. 9. (2) Lib. 3. (3) In Achaic.

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had Recourse to all Means whereby to captivate his Heart ; *Caunus* requited all his Sister's Solicitations with nothing but Scorn and Indifference, and seeing himself incessantly persecuted, travelled into distant Countries in Quest of that Tranquillity which he found not in his Father's House. *Byblis* not being able to live without him, nor to enjoy the Place where she was no longer blest with her Brother's Presence, retired into the Mountains, where she grieved herself to Death. *Ovid*, who did not let slip Occasions of painting the Weaknesses and Disorders of the Heart, has enlarged a great deal upon this History, for the Adventure is but too true. *Byblis* was transformed into a Fountain ; an Emblem of the Flood of Tears she shed ; and 'tis true there was a Fountain near *Miletus* that bore her Name.

Pausanias (1), who as an Historian says nothing of the Metamorphosis, informs us only that in the Country of the *Milefians* was a Fountain of *Byblis*, near which happened the celebrated Adventure of the Amours of that Princess. *Conon* (2), who is not always consonant to *Ovid* and the other Mythologists, says it was *Caunus* was in Love with his Sister, and tho' she had a mutual Affection for him, yet she never discovered any Thing but virtuous Sentiments. *Caunus* reduced to Despair by her Obstinacy, sought to remedy his Passion by Flight ; and *Byblis*, unable to live without him, retired, as has been said, into the Heart of a Wood, where after shedding a Flood of Tears, she fastned her Girdle to a Walnut Tree and hanged herself.

In the mean Time *Caunus* arrived in *Lycia*, and there a *Naiad* ascending from the Bottom of a River (3), strove to console him, and offered him the Sovereignty of that Country, which was at her Disposal. *Caunus* believed her, took her to Wife, and had by her *Egialus*, who succeeded him, and who in order to draw together the People who were Subject to him, and who till then had led an erratic and vagabond Life, built a City which he called *Caunus*, after the
C c 4 Name.

(1) Loc. cit. (2) In Phot. Narr. 2. (3) Her Name was *Procié*.

Name of his Father. *Ovid*, who in his *Metamorphoses* follows the common Tradition, grants in his *Art of Love* that *Byblis* hanged herself.

Arfit, Et est laqueo fortiter ulta nefas.

Miletus lived in the Time of *Minos* the First, and, according to some Authors, he married *Acacallide* his Daughter; but having quarrelled with his Father-in-law, he was obliged to quit the Island of *Crete*, and retire into *Caria*. Thus the *Æra* of *Minos's* Reign, which I have fixed elsewhere, will determine the Time to which the History now given refers.

Ovid has writ this Fable with all the Art of one who was thoroughly acquainted with the Weaknesses of the human Heart; but he enters into Details which chaste Ears can hardly bear.

Iphis and Ianche. The Adventure of *Iphis*, who changes Sex by the Power of *Isis* (1), in order to gain a Mistress whom he fondly loved, is one of those Facts for which Medicine may challenge History; and therefore all I shall say is, that I find nothing in fabulous Antiquity, that has the least Conformity to this Adventure; but the Reader may consult *Ovid*, who has described it with a great deal of Art.

Iphis and Anaxarete. The same Poet, who had a Mind to collect all Fictions, relates also the Adventure of another *Iphis*, whom the Insensibility of *Anaxarete* his Mistress, reduced to hang himself in Despair, while *Anaxarete* was transformed into a Rock; an Emblem of the Hardness of her Heart.

Arion. But these are Trifles on which we insist not; let us come to the Fable of *Arion*, which exhibits a Fact more interesting and historical. *Arion*, according to *Hyginus* and *Probus*, was of the City *Methymna* in the Island of *Lesbos*; he was a *Lyrick* Poet, and a skilful Player upon the Lute. Having gone into *Italy* along with *Periander* King of *Corinth*, his Friend and Protector, he there gained a deal of Wealth during the Stay he made there. In his Return, the Seamen

who

(1) *Ovid*, *Met.* l. 9.

who managed the Ship where he was, having a Mind to kill him for the sake of his Riches, he begg'd to be allowed, before he died, to play some Tune, hoping perhaps to be able to subdue them by the Sweetness of his Melody. We are told that several Dolphins having gathered about the Ship, he flung himself into the Sea, and that one of them receiving him upon its Back, carried him as far as the Cape of *Tenarus*, whence having gone to *Periander's* Court, he informed him of his Adventure. That Prince having taken the Seamen, ordered them all to be crucified.

Pliny (1) and *Aulus Gellius* (2) affirm, after *Herodotus*, this to be the true Account of the Fact, and they enlarge very much upon the Love which Dolphins bear to Men, as to which 'tis so far true, that they follow Ships without being frighted (a); but 'tis more probable that *Arion*, to escape Death from the Seamen, threw himself into the Sea pretty near the Coast, and saved himself by swimming, and that he himself propagated the Fable of the Dolphin for the sake of Fame. Be that as it will, this Dolphin of *Arion* is believed to be that which is placed among the Stars. *Arion* lived in the Time of *Periander*, and about the twenty-eight Olympiad.

I ought however to add, that some Authors tell us the Sign of the *Dolphin* is composed of one *Delphinus*, who made *Amphitrite* consent to marry *Neptune*; others of one of those Mariners whom *Bacchus* transformed into *Dolphins*.

But now that I have been speaking of *Lesbos*, I shall subjoin here the Fable of *Nyctimene* the Daughter of *Epopeus* King of that Island (3), whom *Ovid* and the other Mythologists call *Nycteus*, who was transformed into an *Owl*. The Fact is, that her Father had entertained a criminal Passion for her, and that she went and hid herself from him in the Recesses of the Woods; which gave rise to

Nyctimene and Epopeus.

(1) L. 9. (2) Noct. Att. l. 16.

(a) See *Lucian* in the *Dialogue of Neptune*.

(3) *Hygin. Fab.* 204.

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to her Transformation. *Lactantius* (1) transports the Scene of this Incident into *Ethiopia*, whereof, according to him, *Nycteus* was King.

Harpalice. The Fable of *Harpalice* (2) offers to us a

Fact no less shocking, and far more tragical, but unluckily not so well vouched in History : But I ought to draw a Veil over these Obscenities.

Dryope. That of *Dryope* is more moving, and not so hideous. As she was one Day in a Wood with her Child (3), she would needs pull a Branch of the Tree called *Lotos*, and was in an Instant transformed into a Tree ; as *Ovid* describes it in a very affecting Manner. But this is one of those uninteresting Facts which has no Foundation, but the Conformity between the Name of that Nymph, and that of the Oak which the *Greeks* called *Drys*, and which has a great Resemblance to the *Lote* Tree. But if we would reduce it to History, we might say that this Princess was punished for having offered to profane a Tree of some Wood consecrated to the Gods.

Olenus and his Wife Lethæa. That of *Olenus*, transformed into a Rock, presents us with such another Adventure. We are told, that in order to secure his Wife *Lethæa* from the Chastisement which she had incurred by her Impiety, he was willing to substitute himself in her stead ; but it was not in his Power to save her (4), and all he obtained was to share in her Punishment, and to be transformed into a Rock with her. This Adventure, doubtless, has no other Foundation, but that this Prince perished with his Wife, among the Rocks where they had taken shelter from the Pursuit of the Priests, who accused *Lethæa* of some Profanation.

The Ceraïæ and the Propetides. The *Ceraïæ*, whom *Ovid* speaks of in his *Metamorphosis* (5), a People of *Cyprus*, are said to have been transformed into *Balls*, only to denote the barbarous and rude Manners of those Islanders, who stained Altars with the Blood of Strangers.

(1) Ad. 3. Theb. v. 507. (2) Hygin. Fab. 206. (3) Ovid. Met. l. 10. (4) Met. l. 10. (5) Met. l. 11.

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Strangers. A mere Quibble gave rise to this Fable; for *Ceraſta* imports *a Horn*.

Unde etiam nomen traxere Ceraſtæ (1);

And the Reason why they had this Name given them, is becauſe the Iſland of *Cyprus* is ſurrounded with Promontories which project into the Sea, and exhibit pointed Rocks at a Diſtance; whence it got the Name of *Ceraſta*, or *Horned*: This is the Source of the Fable (2).

The *Prophetides*, who dwelt in the ſame Iſland, were very debauched Women. *Juſtin* and ſeveral other Authors, give us amazing Accounts of a Cuſtom which prevailed in that Iſland, of prostituting young Virgins, in the ſame Temple of the Goddeſs *Venus*. And how could they better do Honour to a married Goddeſs, whom all the Gods had ſurprized in Adultery? *Ovid* ſays (3) *Venus* had turned them to Prostitutes, to puniſh their Contempt of her. It was probably the neglect which thoſe Women had of their Honour, that gave the Poets a Handle to transform them into Rocks (4).

It was much the ſame as to the Metamorphoſis of the *Cercopes* into *Apes*: *The Cercopes into Monkies.*

- - - - - *Ut iidem*
Diffimiles homini poſſentque ſimileſque videri (5).

The Fable having no other Foundation, but that there was upon a Mountain in *Sicily*, a Neſt of crafty and tricking Robbers, who were called *Cercopes*, which is the *Greek* Name for a kind of *Monkey*.

Much the ſame Account is to be given of that Shepherd, whom *Ovid* makes to have been transformed into a *wild Olive-tree*, for having inſulted Nymphs as they were dancing; becauſe, probably, he was puniſhed for his Inſolence: His ſymbolical Transformation denotes the Character of that Savage:

- - - - - *Succoque licet cognoscere mores (6).*

CHAP.

(1) *Ovid. ib.* (2) *Bochart. Chan. l. 1. c. 3.* (3) *Met. l. 11.*
(4) *Idem. l. 10.* (5) *Ovid. Met. l. 14.* (6) *Ovid. ibid.*

CHAP. IX.

The Continuation of the Fables taken from Ovid.

THIS Poet, conformably to the Historians (1), relates the Adventure of *Cyppus* the *Roman* Captain, on whose Forehead Horns appeared upon his Return from a Conquest, or at going out of *Rome*, according to *Valerius Maximus*; upon which Occasion the Soothsayers and Augurs whom he consulted, unanimously predicted that if he entered *Rome*, he would be declared King thereof; and as he knew the Aversion the *Romans* had to the bare Name of King, he chose rather to go into voluntary Exile. The *Romans*, charmed with so generous Behaviour, set up a Head in Bronze with Horns upon the Gate through which he had passed, and it was called *Raudusculana*, because anciently Brass or Bronze was called *Raudera*.

To this Recital I shall subjoin some Remarks. First, that *Valerius Maximus* is mistaken in saying that this Portent happened when *Cyppus* came from *Rome*: It was in returning from the War, and after having brought a Reinforcement to the Consul *Valerius*; wherein *Ovid* is more consonant to History than *Valerius Maximus*. Secondly, that the Senate decreed Lands to *Cyppus*, who built a Country-house upon the Ground given him by the Public; which our Author says not. Thirdly, that this Event fell out in the third Year of the 135 Olympiad, in the Year of *Rome* 525, and 137 Years before *Jesus Christ*.

As to the Truth of this History, Authors are divided; and *Pliny* himself (2), who has been often accused of adopting the most incredible Things, says the Horns of *Cyppus* are as fabulous as those of *Assem*. There are Naturalists however, who alledge that a strong and lively Imagination may operate such Prodigies, and it must be owned that Excrescences have sometimes been seen pretty like Horns. *Boyle* in his
News

(1) Met. l. 15. (2) Lib. 11. c. 37.

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om the Republic of Letters (1), says there ap-
 not long ago at Palermo, a Girl who had Horns
 her Body, not unlike those of a Calf. Farther,
 Maximus, as credulous as he is, says not they
 1 Horns, but somewhat like them: *In capite*
to veluti cornua emerferunt. Notwithstanding

I am of Opinion, that Cyppus on his Return
 , having fancied he had Horns growing in his
 consulted the Augurs, who having replied to him
 would be King if he entered the City, he chose
 oluntarily to submit to perpetual banishment.

e, the same Poet transiently touches Cerambus.
 ne Metamorphoses still less import-

rich he endeavours to connect with his Subject
 s he is able. Such are those of the aged Ce-

who is said to have been transformed into a
 the Time of the Deluge; a Fiction which sig-

at he happily escaped some Inundation. He

are told, transformed into that kind of Beetle
 has Horns; and it is the Etymology of his

had given rise to the Transformation (a).
 of the Women of the Island of

sformed into Heifers, has no other
 tion, but that the Companions of

slew some of them to offer them
 ifice to the Gods. The Inhabitants of the

d Rhodes were said to be trans-
 into Rocks, because most of

crushed in a great Inundation,
 drowned almost the whole Island, and especially

y talibus, the Inhabitants whereof were called
 s, a Name given them by the Greeks upon Ac-

of their Sorceries. For, according to Diodorus,
 ere mostly Sorcerers and Enchanters, whose Bu-

it was by all kinds of evil Arts to injure their
 ours. Thus the Inundation wherein they pe-

was construed a Judgment from Heaven, and
 gave

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The Greek call the Beetle, *κίραυλον* upon Account of its

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gave Occasion to fable that they had been tra
into *Rocks*.

Alcidamas. The same Author says the
of *Alcidamas*, was transformed i

geon, to denote her Fruitfulness. *Hirie* into

Hirie. because upon the Death of her Son C
threw herself into a Pond which w

that Time by her Name: *Combe* into a

Combe. cause he dextrously made his Escap
all Probability, from a Conspirac

Sons, who were going to have put him i

Mera. *Mera* into a *Bitch*, an Emblem of

and Despair, *Diana* having banished
her Company upon Account of her Gallantr

Menephron. *nephron* into a *Brute*, to denote

horrence which all Nature had t
famous Passion; his Mother is thought to have

Arne. to death before he executed his Desig
into an *Owl*, because having sold his

his Avarice was signified by the Symbol of t
which, according to popular Opinion, loves

Phillyra. *Phillyra*, the Mother of the Centau
into a *Linden-tree*, because the Nan

Woman was the same in *Greek* with the

Tree.

Metra and That of *Metra*, the Daughter

Erifichthon. *Erifichthon*, deserves a little more A

'Tis *Achelous* who relates it to T

Erifichthon having cut a Tree consecrated to C

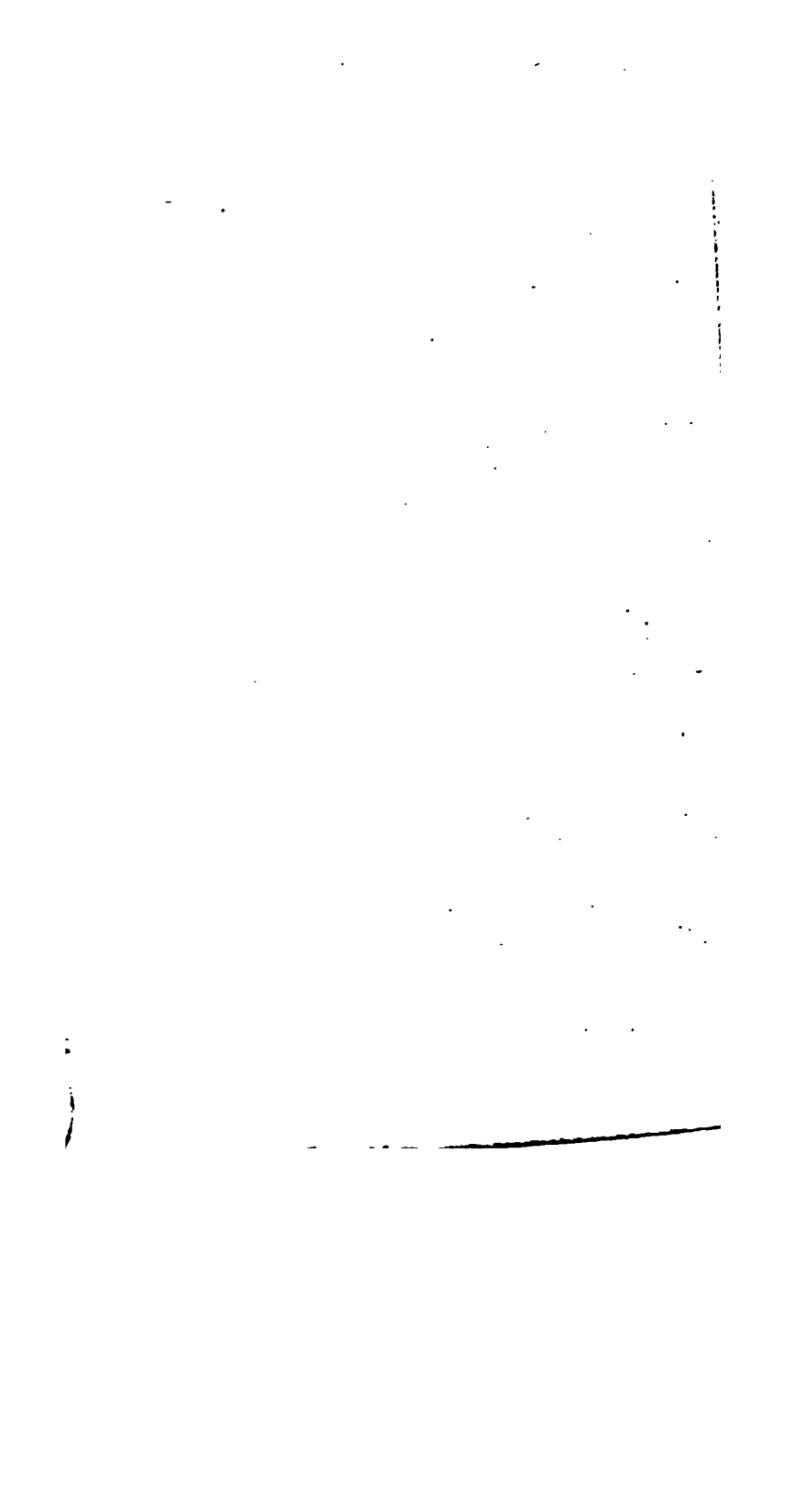
Goddeſs revenged herself upon him by makin
famished, that he eat up himself at last. In

his Daughter *Metra*, to whom *Neptune*, who k
communicated the Power of transforming he

several Shapes, sold herself to several Master
cure her Father Sustenance; all was to no

he died in a miserable Manner, as has been sai
describes the canine Hunger of *Erifichthon*,

the Ornaments of Poetry; but, after all, it is



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it the various Transformations of that Maid, conceal
r Debaucheries.

Our Poet adds, that she married *Autoiycus*, that fa-
ous Robber, so noted for having stole the Oxen of
Argus. *Callymachus* in his Hymn to *Ceres*, describes
e Fable of *Erifichthon* at length, and gives him for
s Father *Triopas* the Son of *Neptune* and *Canuce* the
anghter of *Eolus*. *Julius Scaliger* (1) endeavours to
concile *Ovid*'s Narration with that of the Greek Poet,
r means of the Relations of *Erifichthon*, whom An-
quity reckons an Atheist, and especially by means of
is Son-in-law *Autoiycus*, the Grandfather of *Ulysses* :
Ve find that he lived forty or fifty Years before the
iking of *Troy*.

That of *Æsacus* deserves also some *Æsacus transformed*
attention : I shall take the Account *into a Didapper*.
f it from *Apollodorus* (2), and *Ovid* (3), who are
greed in the first Place that he was the Son of *Priam*,
nd that he was transformed into a *Didapper*, but they
iffer as to the other Circumstances of this History.
The latter of these Authors, as we have seen else-
where, says the Mother of *Æsacus* was named *Alixotbee*,
nd that she was the Daughter of the River *Cebrenus*,
r as it is in some Authors, of the *Granicus*. He adds,
hat *Æsacus* pursuing *Hesperis*, with whom he was in
love, that Nymph had been stung by a Serpent; and
hat young Prince not being able to support the Death
f one he loved so dearly, had thrown himself into
he Sea, and been transformed into a *Didapper*. *Apol-*
odorus says *Æsacus* was the Son of *Priam* and *Arisba*
he Daughter of *Merope*, his first Wife; that his Fa-
her made him marry *Sterope*, who having died very
young, he was so afflicted therewith that he flung him-
elf into the Sea. That Author adds, that *Priam*
aving divorced *Arisba* to marry *Hecuba* the Daughter
f *Cisseus*, *Æsacus* finding his Mother-in-law with Child
f her second Son, had foretold his Father that that
Child would one Day prove the Author of a bloody
War, which would bring about the Ruin of *Troy*, and
that

(1) Poet. l. 5. c. 8. (2) Lib. 3. (3) Met. l. 11.

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Place where she ended her Days was called *The nine Ways, Novem Viæ*, in Memory of that Race nine times repeated; this was also the first Name of *Amphipolis*, built in the same Place, which *Antipater* in an Epigram of the Anthology calls *Pbillis's Tomb*. We have in *Ovid* a fine Epistle from this Princess to *Demophoon*, where she expresses to him all her Love, and her ardent Desire to see him again, in which it appears that *Demophoon* had promised to return at the End of four Months. This is the true History of *Pbillis*; but to give an Air of the Marvellous to this Adventure, it was given out that the Gods had transformed her into an *Almond-tree*, because in Fact that Tree is called in Greek *Pbilla*. *Hyginus* (1) says nothing of this Metamorphosis: He only says there grew Trees upon that Virgin's Tomb, whose Leaves at a certain Season of the Year appear moist, as if they were shedding Tears for her. In those ancient Times, a small Resemblance was a sufficient Foundation for tacking a Metamorphosis to the End of a true History. But if I be asked the Reason why, at the Return of *Demophoon*, the *Almond-tree* flourished? I answer this Circumstance is only the Play of some Poet's Imagination; or it implies, some Stroke of Physiology of no great Importance. We are told that as the *Almond-tree* flourishes while the *Zephyr* blows, which Wind blows in *Thrace* towards *Athens*, it was said that this was *Pbillis's* Lover come to visit her, and that she expressed her Joy at his Return by expanding her Blossoms.

Egesta, the Daughter of *Hippotas* Crinifus transformed
a noble Trojan, was sent to Sicily by into a Bear.

her Father, to prevent her being exposed to the Monster which *Neptune* had raised up to punish *Laomedon*: The River *Crinifus* fell in love with her, and transformed himself into a Bear to seduce her, as we learn from *Virgil* (a). This Fable includes a Piece of His-

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D d

tory

(1) Fab. 59.

(a) *Troia Crinifo conceptum flumine mater.*

Quem genuit - - - occurrit Acastes.

Horridus in jaculis & pelle Libystidis urſæ.

tory veiled, as all the rest, under poetical Fictions ; and we have only to divest it of them, or rather to explain two Circumstances therein : That of the River *Crinifus*, which is to be understood of the King, who was afterwards confounded with the River of the same Name ; and that of his Transformation, which may be explained by saying that *Crinifus* hid himself in Rocks and Caves to lie in wait for *Egesta*, or rather that he went on board a Ship named *the Bear*, to pursue her.

Whatever be in this Fable, *Egesta* became the Mother of the famous *Acestes* King of *Sicily*, so noted in the *Eneid* for giving a magnificent Entertainment to *Eneas* and his Companions, as his Allies. After this manner is the Story related by *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, strip'd of its poetical Dress. *Laomedon*, disobliged at a noble *Trojan*, put him to Death, as also all his Sons, and sold his Daughters to some Merchants, on Condition that they would transport them into foreign Countries. In the mean Time, a young Man of Quality being in the Ship that carried them, fell in love with one of those Virgins, and having bought her, conveyed her into the Island of *Sicily*, where he married her. Some Time after she bore *Acestes*, who upon the Death of *Laomedon*, obtained *Priam's* Permission to return to *Troy*, where he was during the War : But seeing his Country ruined by the *Greeks*, he returned to *Sicily* in one of the Ships that *Achilles* left near some Rocks which they had touched upon. *Eneas* arriving there some time after, assisted him in building two Cities, and there left the most useless of his Crew.

Such are the Fables of *Ovid*, that remained for me to explain ; and if I omit some of them, 'tis that I may not tire the Patience of my Readers, by enlarging upon Subjects that deserve no Regard, and have no Connection with the History of the World.

C H A P. X.

Fables collected by Conon *and* Antoninus Liberalis.

CONON lived in the Time of *Archelaus Philopater*, the last King of *Cappadocia*, to whom he dedicated a small Work, containing Fifty Narrations or Pieces of History, taken from ancient Authors; and *Archelaus* having obtained that Kingdom from *Marc Antony*, about Forty Years before the Christian *Æra*, we see thereby at what Time *Conon* lived, who from hence appears different from the Astronomer of the same Name, who flourished under *Ptolomy Philadelphus*. As *Pkotius* had copied him, it is in him his Work is preserved.

Conon had often followed Traditions different from those of other Mythologists, without informing us whence he took them. I believe I have quoted, upon Occasions that offered, such of that Author's Narrations, as had Connection with the Fables I have explained in the Course of this Work: As to those whereof I have made no Mention, they are mostly little Stories, in which there is nothing now interesting.

Antoninus Liberalis, whom Authors take to be the same mentioned by *Suetonius*, who reckons him in the Number of the most illustrious Grammarians, and of whom *Eusebius* also makes mention in his Chronicle, composed a Work upon the *Metamorphoses*; but he takes Care to inform us that he had taken them, either from *Nicander's* Book intitled 'Ετεροίεμνον, *The Transformations of Figures*, or from *Boeus's* Ornithology, or from some other Ancients, whose Works are lost. I have also quoted most of them occasionally; and shall only give the Reader Notice, that most of the rest contain only Facts that stand by themselves, and that almost all the *Metamorphoses* mentioned by this Author, of Persons transformed either into Beasts or Birds, or into whatever Form it is, answer almost always

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to their Names: Thus the Rules I have laid down in the first Volume, are sufficient for understanding and explaining them.

C H A P. XI.

Fables taken from Hyginus.

Icarius and Erigone. **I** Begin with that of *Icarius*, the Son of *Oebalus*, who (1) having given Wine to some Shepherds of *Attica*, they intoxicated themselves, and believing he had made them drink Poison, slew him and cast him into a Well. A Bitch discovered him to his Daughter *Erigone*, who hanged herself for Grief. Upon this, the Pestilence laying waste *Athens*, the Oracle being consulted, let them know that *Bacchus* was avenging the Death of *Icarius*, who had taught them to plant the Vine. The Murderers were sought out, and put to Death. A Festival was even instituted in honour of *Icarius* and *Erigone*, at which Wine and Grapes were offered to them in Sacrifice, in acknowledgement of the Blessing they had received from them, in being taught by them to cultivate the Vine. This was not all, they fabled afterwards that the Gods had placed them in the Heavens, where *Icarius* formed the Constellation of *Bootes*, *Erigone* the Sign of the *Virgin*, *Mera*, *Icarius's* Bitch, that of the *Dog-Star* on *Canicula*.

There is nothing extraordinary in all this but the Apotheosis, the rest needs no Explication. *Apollodorus* (2) tells us, that *Icarius* had by his Wife *Periba* five Sons, *Troas*, *Damaspippus*, *Imensimus*, *Aletes* and *Perilaus*, and another Daughter *Penelope*, who was married to *Ulysses* (a).

Theonea. The History of *Theonea*, related by *Hyginus* (3), furnishes a very moving Adventure. This Princess was the Daughter of *Thestor*, and Sister
to

(1) Fab. 130. (2) L. 3.

(a) See what has been said of this Marriage in the History of *Ulysses*.

(3) Fab. 90.

to *Leucippe*: Pyrates finding her upon the Sea-shore as she was walking, carried her off, and sold her to *Icarus* King of *Caria*. Her Father, who loved her passionately, fitted out a Ship in haste to pursue the Ravishers; but having suffered Shipwreck upon the Coasts of *Caria*, he was taken and brought to the Court of the King, who ordered him to be laid in Prison. *Leucippe* not hearing of her Father, went and consulted the Oracle to know what she should do to find him, and the Answer given her was, that she was to cut her Hair, and go in quest of him under the Habit of a Priest of *Apollo*, until she had found him out. This young Virgin set out forthwith, and arrived in *Caria* in the Equipage the Oracle had ordered her to take. *Tbeonea*, struck with the Beauty of the young Priest, fell in love with him; and he refusing to gratify her Passion, she clap'd him in Chains, and ordered *Tbestor* to put him secretly to death. He having entered the Prison with the Sword which *Tbeonea* had given him, told the pretended Priest, whose sad Fate probably affected him, that he was still more unhappy than he, since having lost his two Daughters, *Leucippe* and *Tbeonea*, he was also put upon this cruel Action; he added that he chose rather to die than perpetrate it, and thereupon was going to have stabb'd himself to the Heart. *Leucippe*, knowing her Father, snatched the Poniard from him, run to the Apartment of *Tbeonea* to put her to death, and called her Father *Tbestor* to her Assistance; at this Name *Tbeonea* cried out that she was his Daughter. *Icarius* hearing of so extraordinary an Event, loaded all the three with Presents and Caresses, and sent them home to their own Country. This in short is the same *Tbestor*, who was the Father of *Calchas* so noted at the Siege of *Troy*, as *Hyginus* remarks, so that we see the Time when this Incident happened.

Alope the Daughter of *Cercyon*, who claimed *Vulcan* for his Father (1), was so beautiful, that she kindled love in the God of the

Alope transformed into a Fountain.

(1) *Hygin. Fab. 287.*

Sea, who had a Son by her whom she secretly exposed, to prevent her Father's coming to the Knowledge of her Frailty. When she exposed him, she covered him with a Part of her Robe, which she had torn for that End. A Mare strayed from the Herd was giving her suck, when a Shepherd, who was seeking for her, seeing this Prodigy, took up the Child, and carried him to his Hut. His Companion, charmed with the goodly Mein of the Child, demanded him from him, and got him quite naked; he to whom he was given, demanded also the Robe, which was refused him; whereupon the two Shepherds quarreling with one another, they tabled their Complaint before *Cercyon*, who knew his Daughter's Robe, ordered the Mother to be put to Death, and the Child to be exposed once more; and as another Mare took care to nurse him, the Shepherds who discovered him, presuming that he was under the Protection of the Gods, brought him up, and gave him the Name of *Hippobous*. *Teseus*, as has been said in his History, having slain the cruel *Cercyon*, gave that Tyrant's Dominions to *Hippobous*, who was descended with him from *Neptune*.

*Argé transformed
into a Stag.*

The Transformation of *Argé* into a Stag by the Sun (1), provoked at her for having said of a Stag that was flying before her, that tho' he went as swift at that Luminary, she would overtake him, conceals the Adventure of a Virgin, otherwise unknown, who was very fond of hunting, and perished in the Woods. *Bochart* (2) derives the Name of *Argé* from the Hebrew Word *Arga*, which signifies the Cry of Stags; and if so, we may well say she had no fine Voice.

To these Fables, which I ought to explain, as I have done others in the Course of this Work, the same Author has subjoined another Mythological Work, to which he gives the Name of *Cælum Poetico-Astronomicum*, wherein he shews, that almost all the Signs and Constellations bear the Name of some Heroe; their Souls, according to the ancient Theology of *Paganism*, having

(1) Hygin. Fab. 205. (2) Hier. part. first col. 283.

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having taken Possession of them after their Deification. Thus it is that *Cepheus*, *Cassiopeia*, *Andromeda* and *Perseus*, form the Constellations that bear their Names; *Calisto* that of the *Greater Bear*; her Son *Arkas* the *Artophylax*; *Castor* and *Pollux*, the Sign of the *Twins*; *Chiron*, that of the *Centaur*; *Medea*, the *Cup*; *Amalthea*, the *Goat*; *Cygnus*, the *Swan*; *Pegasus*, the *Horse*; the *Dragon* of the *Hesperides*, the *Serpent*; the *Bull* and *Eagle*, whose Figures *Jupiter* assumed to carry off *Europa* and *Ganymede*, the two Signs that bear their Names; *Ariadne's Crown*, that which is in the *Heavens*; the *Lyre*, that of *Mercury* or *Orpheus*; *Erichthonius* the *Charioteer*, called *Heniochus* or *Auriga*; *Hercules*, who slew near the River *Sangar* in *Lydia*, a frightful *Serpent*, or, according to others, *Lyncus* who was going to put *Triptolemus* to death, the Sign of *Serpentarius*; the *Arrow* is that which the same *Hercules* made use of to slay the *Eagle*, that preyed upon *Prometheus's* Liver; the *Ram* which saved *Phryxus*, the Sign *Aries*; the *Crab*, that which *Juno* raised up to bite *Hercules*, while he was employed in killing the *Hydra* of *Lerna*; the *Lion*, that of *Nemea*; *Astrea*, or, according to others, *Erigone*, that of the *Virgin*; the *Scorpion*, that which *Diana* produced from the Earth, to be avenged of *Orion* for his Insolence; the *Centaur*, or according to many Authors, *Creton*, Foster-father to the *Muses*, *Sagittarius*; *Pan*, or *Ægipan*, *Capricornus*; *Aquarius*, *Ganymede*; *Venus* and her Son the *Fishes*, because it was under the Figure of *Fishes*, that they saved themselves in *Syria* from the Pursuit of *Typhon*; the Monster which *Neptune* raised up to devour *Andromeda*, the *Whale*; the *Nile*, or the *Ocean* (for both these Names were given to that River) the *Eridanus*, or *Canopus*; *Orion* the Constellation that bears his Name; as the celestial *Hare* is that which was pursued by that famous Hunter's Dog, as he seems still to do on our Globes.

There are other Authors however who give us another History on this Occasion, *Hares* say they had never been seen in the Island of *Lero*, or rather of *Hiero*, when a young Man who was passionately desirous

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that there should be some there for the Pleasure of hunting them, brought one thither, and took so great Care of its young, that in a little time the whole Island was stocked with them, and they multiplied there afterwards to such a Degree, that they consumed all, and occasioned a Famine there; insomuch that it was found necessary to exterminate them. The Gods, they add, placed one of them in the Heavens, to teach Men that the things they most ardently desire are often the most pernicious to us. The Dog which *Jupiter* gave to *Europa* to guard her, and whereof *Minos* made a Present to *Procris*, and she to *Cephalus* her Husband, forms the Sign which bears that Name, tho' 'tis alledged that this too is that of *Erigone*. *Procyon* (1), the Constellation so called, because it rises before the great Dog, represents that of the celebrated *Orion*; *Argo* is formed of the Ship of the *Argonauts*; the *Centaur* represents the famous *Chiron*; the Altar, the Work of the *Cyclops*, that upon which the Gods sacrificed before they gave Battle to the *Titans*; the *Hydra*, above which is the Raven, with an antique Horn, is either that Bird itself, or *Coronis* the Mother of *Esculapius*, transformed into a Crow; the Fish, that which procured Water to *Iris*, or according to other Authors, to *Derceto*, while she was oppressed with extreme Thirst, also appears in the Heavens fetching Water from *Aquarius*. The Mythologists, to mention it by the by, consider this Fish as the Father of two others, which form in the Zodiac the Sign which bears their Name; the *Dolphin* again that which saved *Arion*.

We say nothing here of the five Planets which bear the Name of so many Divinities; nor of the *Hyades*, whereof we have spoke in the History of *Atlas*; nor of the milky Way, the Fable whereof has been given in the History of *Hercules*; nor in fine, of some other Signs or Constellations, that I might not repeat what has been said of them already.

BOOK

(1) That is, *Antecanis*.



B O O K VIII.

Of the Games of the Greeks.

BY these Games, as has been already said, I understand that Sort of Shows which Religion had consecrated, and which were exhibited in *Greece*, and afterwards at *Rome*, either in a *Circus*, or in the *Stadium*, or in the *Amphitheatres*, or in other Places destined to that Use. I say, which Religion had consecrated, for besides that there was none of them but was dedicated either to some God in particular, or to several, the Solemnization of them never commenced, as we learn from *Tertullian*, till after having offered Sacrifices, and performed other religious Ceremonies (*a*); and afterwards when the *Romans* adopted those Games, the Senate made an Act bearing that they should always be dedicated to some Divinity. If we would trace the Origine of those Games, the same *Tertullian* tells us that the *Lydians* were the first Inventors of them, and that *Tyrrhenus*, obliged to resign to his Brother the Part which he claimed in the Dominions their Father, had left them, having planted a Colony in that Part of *Italy*, which from that Time was called *Tyrrhenia*, introduced thither the Use of those Sorts of Shows. *Herodotus* (1), and after him *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, had said (2) the same thing long before, and the former of these Authors informs us it was during a Famine which raged in *Lydia* in the Time of *Atys* the Son of *Manes*, that the *Lydians*, to redress their Grievances, finding the Ground when cultivated, did not answer the Expectation of the Labourer, invented for their Amusement several Sorts of Games; but, to say the Truth,

(*a*) *In ludis quanta sacra, quanta Sacrificia præcedunt, intercedunt, succedunt.* De Spect.

(1) L. 11. (2) L. 2.

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Truth, those which *Herodotus* speaks of were rather Games of Recreation than Shows of Religion.

I know not whether it was from the *Lydians* that the *Greeks* formed the Idea of them ; but 'tis certain that their Use was known in *Greece* in the heroic Age. These Games of the *Greeks*, for 'tis theirs and some of those of the *Romans* that I intend to speak of in this Book, were instituted on different Occasions, and Religion or pious Duties were always the Motives of their Institution.

They may be considered, either as destined to be celebrated at set Times, such as the *Olympic*, the *Pythic*, the *Nemean*, and the *Isthmian* Games ; or as simple Vows immediately executed ; or as Duties paid to the illustrious Dead, such as those which *Acastus* appointed to be celebrated at the Death of his Father *Pelias*, the *Greeks* in Honour of *Achilles*, and *Æneas* at the Anniversary of the Death of *Anchises* his Father ; or as public or private. The former were celebrated in Honour of the Gods to whom they were consecrated ; the others were ordered at *Rome* by the Magistrates, especially while they were *Ediles* or *Pretors*. According to *Lactantius*, the Games were Festivals dedicated to the Gods, either to celebrate their Birth, or the Dedication of their Temples (*a*) ; and their Celebration consisted in different Sorts of Exercises or Combats, as shall be said afterwards.

Aufonius had observed that among the four principal Games of *Greece*, namely the *Olympic*, the *Pythic*, the *Nemean*, and the *Isthmian*, two were consecrated to Gods, and two to Heroes ; but his Remark is not accurate ; for 'tis certain that the first were dedicated to *Jupiter*, the second to *Apollo*, the fourth to *Neptune*, and the third alone to *Archemorus* the Son of *Lycurgus*. 'Tis also certain that the *Equestrian* or *Curule* Games were dedicated to the Sun and to *Neptune*, the *Agonalia* and the *Gymnica* to *Mars* and *Diana* ; the *Scenic*, the *Poetic* Games,

(a) *Ludorum celebrationes Deorum festa erant, qui quidem ob natalis eorum, vel Templorum novorum dedicationes sunt constituti.*

Divin. Instit. lib. 6. c. 2.

Games, and those of Singing and Music to *Bacchus*, *Apollo*, *Minerva*, and *Venus*, so the rest.

As most of those Games, at least in *Greece*, had been instituted by Heroes, upon important Occasions, they made no Scruple to enter the Lists themselves, and it was fabled that *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, and the other Gods, had formerly disputed the Victory. In after Ages, when all Comers were permitted to enter the Lists, these Sorts of Exercises were divided: The Grandees and Kings themselves appeared there either in the Horse or Chariot Races; while the less noble Trials of Skill, such as Wrestling, Fencing and others, were reserved for the Populace, and for the Gladiators, who held the last Rank of all, and at the same Time the most despicable.

Nothing, in short, was more celebrated in *Greece*, than these Games, especially those of *Olympia*: It was upon them that the whole Chronology of *Greece* rested, and its principal Events were dated from the Time of their Celebration. The *Greeks* made those Games often the Subjects of their whole Conversation and their sole Employment; and as they were celebrated in different Times and Places, they were always careful to be prepared for them. Oftentimes too the Time from one *Olympiad* to another, that is, a Revolution of four Years, was not sufficient for that Effect. Those who were disposed to combat therein, chose the best Horses, and took particular Care of the Beauty and Lightness of their Chariots: In a Word, these Games engaged the chief Attention and were the most ordinary Employment of People, distinguished either by their Birth, or by their Actions; especially among the Youth. Multitudes flock'd to them not only from all Quarters of *Greece*, but also from the neighbouring Countries, and nothing was so magnificent as those Sorts of Assemblies.

What made the *Greeks* so ardent on this Head was the Honour that accrued to the Conquerors, and the Fame which they got thro' all *Greece*, and even in other Countries, by Victories gained in those Games; they

they were distinguished on all Occasions, and had every where the most honourable Places. The greatest Poets thought it their Honour to celebrate those Victories, and it is to their Triumphs we owe the Odes of *Pindar*. It was not, doubtless, from a Motive of Avarice that those Competitors strove to carry the Victory from one another: A mere Wreath of Laurel, Olive, Poplar, or of some Plant, and Statues raised in Honour of the Conquerors, were all the Rewards allotted to them. 'Tis true other Marks of Distinction were annexed to the Victory afterwards; those who won it having commonly the chief Places in the public Assemblies, and often a Breach was made in the Walls, to receive as in Triumph those who conquer'd at *Olympia*; but still it is certain that at first Glory was the sole Motive that animated those who entered the Lists in those Games. I say, Avarice was not the usual Motive of the Combatants, tho' it may have been so in the Funeral Games, where the Prize was either Slaves, or Moveables, or even Money; but these Games were commonly celebrated but once.

C H A P. I.

The Motives for the Institution of those Games, and their different Kinds.

I Said Religion often gave Rise to the Institution of those Games; but I ought to add that Policy had likewise a good Share therein; and that Policy had two principal Objects; one that thereby the *Greeks* acquired from their Youth a martial Genius, and qualified themselves for Battles and other military Expeditions; the other, that they became thereby more nimble, more alert and robust; these Exercises being very proper, according to the most skilful Physicians, to promote bodily Strength and a vigorous State of Health. Further, we may easily conceive, that such a Subject has escaped neither the Ancients nor Moderns; both have written upon it; even the Fathers of the Church, *Tertullian*,

Julian, Clement of Alexandria, S. Cyprian, S. Augustine, have made Mention of it in their Works. But no Ancient has enlarged more fully, especially as to the *Olympic Games*, than *Pausanias*, who has given a very full and curious Description of them.

These Sorts of Exercises were commonly divided into three Classes; into Races, Combats, and Shows. The first, which were denominated *Ludi Equestres, sive Curules*, consisted in Races that were performed in the *Circus*, dedicated to the Sun, or to *Neptune*. The second were called *Agonales* or *Gymnici*, whence the Name *Gymnastic* was derived, which was employed to signify all in general, and which consisted of Combats and Wrestling, partly of Men, and partly of wild Beasts trained for that Purpose; and it was in the *Amphitheater* consecrated to *Mars* and *Diana*, that these Exercises were performed. The third, in short, were *Scenici, Poetici, Musici*, consisting of Tragedies, Comedies and Satyrs that were represented upon the *Theater*, in Honour of *Bacchus, Venus, Apollo* and *Miserva*.

Under these general Classes were included all the Games of *Greece* and *Rome*; such were the *Pythian*, the *Nemean*, the *Isthmic*, the *Olympic*, the *Pyrrhic*, the *Megalefsian*, the *Astiac*, the *Apollinarian*, the *Capitoline Games*, those of *Ceres*, the *Equestrian*, the *Floral*, the *Iselastie*, the *Juvenal*, the *Hieronie*, those of the Youth, those of the married Men, the *Neronian*, the *Plebeian*, the *Roman*, the *Secular*, the *Trojan*, and several others; in fine, the Funeral Games, such as those I mentioned a little while ago.

These last were commonly celebrated but once, and returned not, like the rest, at set Times. I say commonly, for some of them, tho' Funeral in their Original, as the *Nemean*, instituted on Occasion of the Death of *Archemorus*, and some others, became perpetual, and were resumed regularly at certain Times.

Among those that were renewed, there were some whose Celebration was fixed and stated, and were therefore called *Stativi*; others that depended upon the Ap-
point-

pointment of the Magistrate, *Indivivi*; others, in short, that were the Consequence of a Vow made on important Occasions, *Votivi*; lastly, there were of them *annual, triennial, decennial, Secular, &c.*

We are only to remark that all these Games were not peculiar to *Greece*, since several of them, as is obvious, were of *Roman* Institution.

CHAP. II.

Of the Founders of those Games.

H*yginius* in the 273 Fable names fifteen Founders of Games, until *Eneas* who was the fifteenth; but the Names of the four first are not now to be found, neither in the Manuscripts of that Author, nor in the printed Copies, while neither *Kunius* nor his other Commentators have given themselves the Trouble to fill up this Blank. This Chapter of *Hyginius* begins therefore with the fifth Founder of Games. *Danaus*, says he, the Son of *Belus*, instituted Games at *Argos* in Honour of the Marriage of his Daughters; and as *Epithalamiums* were sung there, for those Games consisted of no other Trials of Skill but those of Music, they got the Name of *Hymnean*; *Lynceus* his Son-in-law, the Son of *Egyptus*, whom our Author makes the sixth, founded of them in the same City in Honour of *Juno Argian* (a). The Conquerors in those Games, instead of a Crown, received a Buckler, because *Lynceus* having escaped the general Massacre of the other Sons of *Egyptus*, took from the Temple of that Goddess the Buckler which *Danaus* had consecrated there, to give it to his Son *Abas*, who had it after the Death of his Father-in-law. These Games were renewed at stated Times. The seventh Founder, according to the same Author, was *Perseus*, who solemnized them at the Funerals of *Polydectes*, who had taken Care of his Education; and *Perseus* combating there himself, had the Misfortune to slay his Grand-father *Acrisius*, with the Blow of a Coit.

The

(a) These Games were called ἀπιδυμιας, from a Word compounded of ἀπιδις *u*, ἀγῶν, *u*.

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The eighth was *Hercules*, who instituted the *Gymnic Games* at *Olympia* in Honour of *Pelops*, the Son of *Tantalus*; and this Heroe won the Prize there of the *Pancratia*, that is, according to *Aristotle*, of the boxing and wrestling Matches, or to speak more accurately, of the single Wrestling, and the compound Wrestling. The seven *Chieftains* who led the Army to *Thebes*, instituted the *Nemean Games* in Honour of *Archemorus*, the Son of *Lycurgus* and *Eurydice*, as has been said in speaking of the *Theban War*, and they are reckoned by *Hyginus* the ninth Founders; *Eratocles*, or rather *Theseus*, is the tenth, who instituted Games in the *Isthmus* of *Corinth*, in Honour of *Melicerta* the Son of *Atamas* and *Ino*, which got the Name of *Isthmic*: these two last were renewed also at stated Times. The *Argonauts*, whom the same Author reckons the Eleventh, celebrated Funeral Games in Honour of *Cyzicus*, whom *Jason* had slain by Accident: Jumping, Wrestling, and throwing the Javelin, were the Three Combats there exhibited. *Acastus* the Son of *Pelias*, after the Return of the *Argonauts*, appointed the Celebration of Funerals in Honour of his Father, where most of those Heroes disputed the Prize. *Zethus* the Son of *Aquilo*, was Conqueror there, as also *Calais* his Brother, in the *Diaulus* or double Course (a). *Castor* in that of the *Stadium*, and *Pollux* his Brother in the Gauntlet Fight; *Telamon* in that of the Coit; *Pelias* in the Wrestling Match; *Hercules* in all the Combats; *Meleager* in that of the Javelin; *Cygnus* the Son of *Mars* slew therein *Diodotus* in a desperate Fight; *Bellerophon* was victorious in the Horse-Race; *Iolaus* the Son of *Iphiclus*, in the Chariot-Race, where he outstripped *Glaucus* the Son of *Sisyphus*, whose Horses turned head-strong. *Eurithus* the Son of *Mercury* gained the Victory in shooting the Bow; *Cephalus* in Slinging; *Olympus*, the Disciple of *Marsyas*, in blowing the Trumpet; *Orpheus* the Son of *Oeagrus*, gained the Prize of the Harp; *Linus*, the Son of *Apollo*, that of Singing; *Eumolpus*

(a) This is what was called *Dolichodromos*. See the Treatise of *Mercurialis*, l. 2. p. 159.

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Eumolpus that of the Voice, in Concert with the Trumpet.

These Games, as we may easily see, were very solemn, and almost all sorts of Trials of Skill were exhibited therein, which were frequently but in Part in most of the other Games.

Priam is the Thirteenth, who after having exposed his Son *Paris*, appointed Games to be celebrated several Years after, near a Cenotaph which he had raised in Honour of him, wherein contended *Neleus* the Son of *Nereus*, *Helenus*, *Deiphobus*, and *Polytesus*, all three Sons of *Priam*; *Telephus* the Son of *Hercules*, *Cygnus*, *Sarpedon*, and *Paris* himself, who having vanquished his Brothers, was acknowledged by his Father.

Achilles is the Fourteenth in this List, who celebrated Funeral Games in Honour of *Patroclus*, which are so elegantly described in the Twenty fourth Book of the *Iliad*. In fine, *Eneas* is the last, who celebrated Games at the Court of *Acestes* his Host, in Honour of *Anchises* his Father, dead a Year before, for which I refer to the Fifth Book of the *Eneid*.

As this Author makes no mention of the *Pythian* Games, celebrated in Honour of *Apollo*, nor of some others of much the same Antiquity, I make no doubt but that their Institutors were those whom he had mentioned in the Place of that Chapter which is lost.

All these Games had each their Combats and particular Ceremonies; and it was these Combats and Exercises that made up the *Gymnastic* of the Ancients, but as I am not to treat of this Subject thoroughly, it having no Connection with Mythology, I refer the Curious to the Treatise of *Jerom Mercurialis*, to that of *Peter Faureus*, and to the learned Dissertations of *M. Burette*, dispersed thro' almost all the Volumes of the Memoirs of the Academy of *Belles-Lettres*.

However, to instruct such as have no Access to those Authors, I shall give here a general Notion of this *Gymnastic*.

C H A P. III.

Wherein we explain what the Gymnastic was.

THE Word *Gymnastic* comes from a Greek Word, that signifies *naked*, because it was in that Attitude the *Abletes* fought, at least from the Time of the Accident that befel *Orcippus*, whose Drawers being untied, embarrassed him, and hindered him from gaining the Victory; which happened in the Thirty second *Olympiad*. There were in the Games of *Greece* different Kinds of Exercises, all proper for exerting Strength, Agility, and Address; and when they were not carried to Excess, very serviceable to Health. *Offman*, in his Dictionary (1), makes the Number of these Exercises amount to Fifty five; but the most common were the Race, Leaping, the *Disc* or Coit, the Wrestling Match or *Pancrace*, the Javelin and Boxing Matches; and these Exercises compose what is called the *Pentathlon*. In the Scenic Games there was Singing, Music, and Tragedies, wherein the Musicians and Poets disputed the Prize. This Combat is very ancient, since mention is made of it in the Games celebrated by the *Argonauts*.

I said the Race was one of those Exercises, and I add it was either on Foot or Horseback, or in Chariots drawn by Two or by Four Horses; which is expressed by the Words *Bige* or *Quadrigæ*. This Race was single or double; in the latter they run over the *Stadium* or Lists twice, and it was called *Diaulus*.

The Coit was a kind of Square, made either of Wood, or of Stone, or of Iron; and the Victory was adjudged to him who threw it farthest. The Coits were very large and heavy, and sometimes fatal Accidents happened from them: It was with a Blow of one of those Coits that *Apollo*, or some of his Priests, slew the young *Hyacinth*, and *Perseus* his Grandfather *Acridus*, as has been said. *Menagius*, in his *Origines*, de-

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rives the Name for a Coit, *Palet*, from the *Arabic Palat*, which signifies *lapidibus sternere*, to overthrow with Stones; but 'tis probable the Word is not so far fetched, but derives its Original from *Palestra*.

Boxing was a Match fought with the *Cestus*, which *Cestus* was a kind of Gauntlet made of Ox's Hide. In earlier Times, the Leather of those Gauntlets was softer, more limber, and therefore called *μειδύγαν*. Afterwards they were of a harder Leather. The Combatants covered their Hands with them, and their Arms as far as the Elbow, by Means of several Straps; and with those Gauntlets they dealt to one another such terrible Blows, that they often beat out one another's Teeth, and crush'd their Jaws.

The *Bebrycians* especially excelled in this Gauntlet-Fight: Accordingly, *Virgil*, in the Description of *Achilles's* Funeral Games, feigns that *Entellus*, who signalized himself in this Combat, came from that Country, as has been said of *Amicus*, in the History of the *Argonauts*.

Wrestling consisted in a Combat between two Persons Hand to Hand, and he who by Force or Address overthrew his Antagonist, and kept him down, gained the Victory. This Exercise was one of the most common, and was in Use in the Heroic Age, as appears from the Combat between *Hercules* and *Anteus*. The Wrestlers besmeared their Bodies with Oil, the more easily to elude their Adversaries, and they tried all the Feats of Activity they were Masters of to obtain the Victory. When one of the two Champions was thrown down, he strained his utmost to get up again, while his Antagonist squeezed his Throat, trod upon his Belly, and treated him with all possible Inhumanity. The Wrestling Match, whether simple or compound, was called the *Pancrace*.

Leaping was performed either over a Ditch, or some determined Spot of Ground, or in jumping up an Eminence: Thus the Ancients distinguish several Sorts of Leaps, as may be seen in *Mercurialis* (1). 'Tis

(1) L. II. c. II.

sufficient to observe, that he who leaped best and farthest, gained the Prize.

The Javelin Match consisted either in throwing a Stone, or a Dart, or some other Thing, with the most Address, and to the greatest Distance. *Plato* (1) admitted two Sorts of *Jaculations*; if I may use this Term, the first he calls *τοξικὴν*, the other *ἀκοντισμα*; and *Galen* informs us, that *Apello* and *Esculapius* were the Inventors of them. The *Latins* translated the first by the Word *Sagittatio*, and the Second by that of *Jaculatio*. In those Exercises they equally employed either a Bow or a Sling, or another Instrument (2), which they made use of for hanging to the Arrow a Thong which they held in their Hand, to take the more steady Aim (a).

As the noblest of all these Matches was the Race (b), especially when it was performed on Horseback, or in Chariots, so the most despicable was that of the Gladiators, who fenced for Life and Death. Their common Weapons were two Swords, wherewith they attack'd and defended equally with both Hands, and then they were called *Dimacheri*, from an old *Latin* Word, which signifies a double Sword. Nothing can parallel the Rage with which these Combatants fought, but the Fury which actuated the *Greeks* and *Romans* in seeing them batter one another with Blood and Wounds, and often kill one another in the midst of the Amphitheatre. In vain did the Emperors make several Edicts to stop this Fury; they were ill obeyed, and hardly was this Combat abolished till after the

E c 2

Establish-

(1) De Leg. l. 8.

(2) Which was called *Aimentum*.

(a) These five Exercises were expressed by these Great Words.

Ἄλμα Δίονος ἀκοντισμὸς δρέκλος καὶ στίβος

Saltus, Discus, Jaculum, Cursus et Luta.

(b) *Horace* shews sufficiently in his first Ode, what high Esteem it was in.

Sunt qui curriculo pulverem Olympicum

Collegisse juvat, metaque fervidis

Evitata rotis, palmaque nobilis

Terrarum Dominos evohit ad Deos.

Establishment of Christianity; nor even then was it laid aside at the same Time, and in all Places where it had been practised.

For each Celebration of Games, Judges were chosen to decide who should have the Victory, and these Judges were named *Hellandices*. They had a Place set apart for them, where they might view and judge best of the Advantage which one Combatant had over the other, and from their Decision there lay no Appeal. The Number of these Judges, especially at *Olympia*, was not always the same: *Ipbitus*, the Restorer of the Games that were celebrated there, would needs be the sole Judge of them, and *Oxilus*, as well as his Successors, retained the same Privilege. In later Times, the Number of these Judges encreased to Twelve, and there were several Changes in this Matter, as may be seen in *Pausanias* (1).

Lucian fell upon a very ingenious Contrivance (2), to expose the Fury and Infatuation of most of these Combats, by introducing the *Scythian Anacharsis* thus discoursing of them to *Solon*: “ What would these
 “ young People be at, by putting themselves into such
 “ a Rage, by tripping up one another’s Heels, and
 “ tumbling together in the Dirt like so many Swine,
 “ striving to stifle and stop one another’s Breath?
 “ They anoint their Bodies, and shave one another,
 “ at first, in a peaceable enough Manner; but all of
 “ a sudden sinking their Heads, they run against one
 “ another like Rams; then the one lifting up his Companion, lets him fall to the Ground with a violent
 “ Shock, and throwing himself upon him, hinders
 “ him from rising, pressing his Throat with his Elbow,
 “ and squeezing him with his Legs; insomuch
 “ that I am in Terror lest he stifle him, tho’ the other
 “ taps him on the Shoulder, praying to be released, as
 “ acknowledging himself vanquished. How absurd
 “ is it that they should first anoint themselves with
 “ Oil, and then roll in the Dirt! For my Part, I
 cannot

(1) In *Eliac.* c. 9.
Bodv.

(2) Dialogue of the Exercises of the

“ cannot help smiling to see them mock the Grasp of
 “ their Companions, and glide away like Eels from
 “ the Hand that holds them. See some of them do-
 “ ing the same Thing openly, saving that they roll
 “ themselves in the Sand like Pullets, before they en-
 “ gage, that the Hands of their Antagonist may get
 “ the better Hold, and not slip with the Oil and
 “ Sweat. See others, in like Manner, overspread
 “ with Dust, belabour one another with Blows of Feet
 “ and Fists, without striving, like the first, to over-
 “ throw one another; one spits out his Teeth with the
 “ Sand, from a Blow he has received in the Jaws,
 “ while that Man clad in Purple, who presides at these
 “ Exercises, gives himself no Trouble to part them.
 “ Some make the Dust fly about them as they jump
 “ and spring in the Air, like those who dispute the
 “ Prize in the Race, &c.”

C H A P. IV.

*Of Places allotted for the Celebration of Games, and
 of the principal Cities that exhibited the Repre-
 sentations of them.*

THE Exercises and Combats that were exhibited
 in these Games were different, and required some
 more, some less Ground. There were Places built of
 Purpose for the Celebration of them, whose Spacious-
 ness and Conveniency answered to their Magnificence,
 and to the Ornaments that were laid out upon them;
 and these Places, tho’ destined for the same Exercises,
 had not every where the same Extent, nor the same
 Form, nor did they bear the same Name.

In the earlier Ages, when Simplicity reigned, it ap-
 pears that for the Games, at least for those that were
 celebrated but once, they contented themselves with
 chusing in the open Fields a commodious Place for the
 Exercises that were to be there performed. Thus
Achilles did, for the Celebration of *Patroclus’s* Funeral
 Games, and *Eneas* for the Anniversary of his Father,

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for which no other Preparations were made, but to measure the Space of Ground that was to be taken up, make it clean, and place Boundaries to it. *Adrastus*, and the other Chiefs who instituted the *Nemean Games*, made no other Provision for them, tho' they designed to have them represented at stated Times: But afterwards proper Places were prepared, especially in great Cities, for celebrating them with all possible Magnificence, and these Places bore different Names. At *Pisa*, the Place allotted for the *Olympic Games* was called the *Stadium*, whereof I give a Description in the following Chapter; At *Rome* it was the *Circus*, and at *Constantinople* the *Hippodromos*. As the Races, whether on Foot or Horseback, or in Chariots, required a considerable Space of Ground, these Places were ample and spacious, of greater Length than Breadth, such as they ought to have been for the Races there perform'd.

For the Scenic Games they had public Theatres; and for the fencing Matches and the Gladiators, whether against one another, or against wild Beasts, there were Structures raised on Purpose, that were called *Areas*, or *Colisees*, &c. And in both the one and the other Care was taken to provide a vast Number of Lodges, and other Places to which they got up by little Stairs contrived in the Thickness of the Walls. These Places were allotted for Persons of different Stations. The Concourse of People that frequented them was very great, for the *Greeks* and *Romans* loved those kinds of Shows; the last especially, those of the Gladiators, with a Fury not easy to be expressed.

In those Edifices wherein Animals were combated, there were Cells contrived below wherein the Animals were shut up, and which opened by Means of a sliding Door which drew up when they were to be let out upon the *Amphitheater*, where those who were to fight with them stood ready to receive them. Great Pains were taken to provide the fiercest and at the same Time the rarest Animals, and sometimes they were brought from the Extremity of *Africa* at extraordinary Expence. As Sea-fights were sometimes exhibited in some of those Places,

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Places, Water was conveyed into them in so great Plenty, and the Space that contained it was so large, that several Gallies plied there with Ease; and a real naval Engagement was represented there with all possible Exactness.

Antiquaries have taken great Care to give us Draughts of most of those Edifices: *Onuphrius Parrivinus* especially has preserved to us those of the *Circus of Rome*, of the *Hippodrome*, and several others. There are even some of them still remaining in that City, and some others, which Time has not destroyed; such as the *Amphitheatres of Nismes*, those of *Orange*, and several others; but nothing gives a higher Idea of the Magnificence of those Monuments, than the Remains of the *Colisee* that is still to be seen at *Rome*, and which has something in it that strikes with Astonishment, tho' one of the Popes of the past Age destroyed a great Part of it in order to build a stately Palace.

Having given a general Idea of those Games, and of the Exercises that were therein performed, I shall be somewhat more particular upon the Chief of them; those especially that were instituted by the *Greeks*; but I presume it is necessary to quote first an ancient Inscription (a), which the *Megarians* had made, in order to perpetuate the Memory of the Victories of an illustrious Wrestler, because it lets us know the several Places where these Games were celebrated.

The *Olympic Games* were celebrated at *Pisa*, in Honour of *Jupiter*.

The *Pythian* at *Delfhi*, in Honour of *Apollo*.

The *Nemean*, at *Argos*.

The *Isthmian*, in the *Isthmus* of *Corinth*.

The *Panathenaia*, at *Athens*, in Honour of *Minerva*.

The *Olympian*, also at *Athens*.

The *Pan-Hellenian*, that is of all *Greece*, in the same City.

The *Eleusinian*, also at *Athens*.

The *Heraclian*, in Honour of *Hercules*, at *Thebes*.

E c 4

The

(a) *Spon's Travels thro' Greece*, Tom. I. p. 289. and Tom. III. p. 221. where we find much such another in the *Arundel Marbles*.

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The *Trophonian*, at *Lebadia*.

The *Eleusberian*, at *Plataea*.

The *Funonian*, at *Argos*.

The *Pythian*, at *Miletus* in *Ionia*.

The same, at *Magnesia*.

The common Games of *Asia*, at *Philadelphia*.

The *Aetian* Games for *Apollo*, at *Nicopolis*.

The *Pythian*, at *Sida*.

The same, at *Perga*.

The same, at *Thessalonica*.

The *Esculapian* Games, in Honour of *Esculapius* at *Epidaurus*.

The *Capitoline*, at *Rome*.

Those which were called *Eusebia*, at *Puzzoli*.

The Games in Honour of the Emperors, at *Naples*.

Among these several Games, *Greece* chiefly distinguished four ancient ones, which it celebrated with high Solemnity; namely the *Olympic*, the *Pythic*, the *Nemean*, and the *Isthmian*, according to this Verse of *Ausonius*:

Quatuor antiquos celebravit Achaia ludos :

of them I shall give an Account in the four subsequent Chapters.

CHAP. V.

Of the Olympic Games.

I Begin with the *Olympic Games*, as the most celebrated, and perhaps the most ancient of *Greece*. Not that the Time of their Institution is precisely known, there being diversity of Opinions as to this among the Ancients. *Diodorus Siculus* will have it that they were instituted by *Hercules* of *Crete*, one of those *Ideai Daetili*, whom I have spoke of in the History of *Jupiter*. But as this Author lets us know nothing else upon this Subject, I shall take for my Guide *Pausanias*, who seems to have been at particular Pains to get Information in his Travels thro' *Greece*, of whatever related to this Solemnity. "As for the Games
" of

“ of Greece, says he, this is what I have learned concerning them from some *Eleans*, who appeared to me profoundly skilled in the Study of Antiquity. According to them, *Saturn* is the first who reigned in Heaven, and in the *Golden Age* he had a Temple at *Olympia*. *Jupiter* being born, *Rhea* his Mother committed the Education of him to the *Dactyli* of Mount *Ida*, otherwise called *Curetes*. These *Dactyli* came afterwards from *Crete* to *Elis*, for Mount *Ida* is in *Crete*. They were five Brothers, namely, *Hercules*, *Peonius*, *Epimedes*, *Jasius* and *Ida*. *Hercules*, as being the eldest, proposed to his Brothers a Running-Match, whereof the Prize was to be a Crown of Olive; for the Olive was then so common, that they took the Leaves of it to strew the Ground, and to sleep upon: *Hercules* was the first who brought that Tree into Greece, from among the *Hyperboreans*. It was therefore *Hercules* of *Ida* had the Honour of inventing these Games, and gave them the Name of *Olympian*; and because they were five Brothers, he would have these Games celebrated every fifth Year. Some say that *Jupiter* and *Saturn* fought a wrestling Match together in *Olympia*, and that the Empire of the World was the Prize of the Victory: Others allege, that *Jupiter* having triumphed over the *Titans*, instituted these Games himself, wherein *Apollo*, among others, signalized his Address, and win the Prize of the Race from *Mercury*, and that of Boxing from *Mars*.”

We must not imagine that these Games, from their first Institution, were celebrated continuedly: They were often interrupted, and even for very considerable Intervals; then renewed again, and again laid aside, till at last they assumed a fixed and durable Form; their Celebration returning regularly every five Years, that is, to speak more accurately, after a Revolution of four Years, and in the first Month of the fifth Year: This is the Reason why they reckoned five Years from one Olympiad to another, tho’ at Bottom there were but four Years compleat. But the Author now cited

will

will instruct us in these Interruptions and Re-establishments.

“ Fifty Years after *Deucalion's* Deluge, says he, *Chy-
menes* the Son of *Cardis*, and one of the Descendants
“ of *Idean Hercules*, having come from *Crete*, cele-
“ brated those Games at *Olympia*; then he consecrated
“ an Altar to the *Curetes*, and particularly to *Hercules*,
“ under the Title of *Hercules* the Protector. *Endymion*
“ the Son of *Aetblius* banished *Chymenus* from *Elis*,
“ seized upon the Kingdom, and proposed it to his
“ Sons as the Prize of a running Match: But *Pelops*,
“ who came about thirty Years after *Endymion*, ap-
“ pointed those Games to be represented in honour of
“ *Jupiter*, with more Pomp and Apparatus than any
“ of his Predecessors. His Sons not being able to
“ maintain themselves in *Elis*, and having dispersed
“ themselves thro’ diverse Places of the *Peloponnesus*,
“ *Amythaon* the Son of *Cretheus*, and *Endymion's* Cou-
“ sin-German, (for *Aetblius* is said to have been the
“ Son of that *Eolus* who was surnamed *Jupiter*) *Amy-
thaon*, I say, exhibited these Games to the People.
“ After him *Pelias* and *Neleus* exhibited them at the
“ common Charge. *Augeus* also appointed the Cele-
“ bration of them, and then *Hercules* the Son of *Am-
phitryo*, when he had taken *Elis*. The first whom
“ he crowned was *Iolaus*, who, that he might win the
“ Chariot-Race, borrowed *Hercules's* own Mares; for
“ in those Times they borrowed without Ceremony,
“ Horses that were in Reputation for Swiftneſs.”

From *Oxylus*, who as little neglected these Shows, the *Olympic* Games were interrupted until *Iphitus*, who restored them. They had almost lost the Memory of the Exercises and Trials of Skill, that had been exhibited there at their Original; however, they were gradually recovered, and in proportion as any one of those Exercises came to be recollected, it was added to those that were already resumed. During the Interruption we have been speaking of, *Greece* groaned under the Oppression of intestine Wars, and was at the same Time laid waste by Pestilence. *Iphitus* went to *Delpboi*,

Delphos, to consult the Oracle about these so pressing Calamities, and the Response given him by the *Pythia*, was that the Renewal of the *Olympic* Games would be the Safety of *Greece*; that he and his *Eleans* should therefore set about it. *Iphitus* forthwith ordered a Sacrifice to *Hercules* to appease that God, and then celebrated the Games.

These Games were again interrupted for the Space of eighty-six Years; then they were resumed, and it was at this first *Olympiad*, *Coræbus* gained the Prize of the Race. This Victory is the more remarkable in Antiquity, as it was by this same Celebration the reckoning by *Olympiads* begun, which were no longer interrupted afterwards; which Event happened 4776 Years before *Jesus Christ*; a famous *Æra* among the *Greeks*, tho' to speak accurately, they never used *Olympiads* for computing Time till about fifty Years before *Alexander* the Great, as I have remarked on another Occasion. But they set out with the *Olympiad* of *Coræbus*, and from that Time these Games served for an *Æra* to all *Greece*, in Contradistinction to all other Games, which were only used for that Purpose in Countries where they were celebrated. Thus the Inhabitants of *Delphos*, and the *Beotians*, employed in their Chronology the *Pythian* Games; those of the *Isthmus* and the *Corinthians* computed their Years by the Celebrations of the *Isthmic* Games; and the *Argives* and *Arcadians*, for this Purpose, made use of the *Nemean* Games; for I find none but these four Games whose Celebration served for an *Æra* to the *Greeks*.

The Place where these Games were exhibited was called the *Stadium*; it was a *Stadium* of *Olympia*. Space of six hundred Paces, inclosed with Walls, near the City *Elis*, and the River *Alpheus*, and was adorned with proper Embellishments. But being necessitated to take up with Ground which was unequal, this *Stadium* was very irregular, as may be seen from the Plan which Chevalier *Folard* has drawn of it upon *Pausanias's* Description, and which the *Abbé Gedouyn* has got engraved, to insert the Print of it in his Translation of that Greek Author.

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This *Stadium* (1) consisted of two Parts: The first whose Figure pretty much resembled the Prow of Ship, was called the *Barrier*. There were the Stables and Coach-houses where the Horses and Chariots were kept, and where they were matched. The second was called the *Lifts*, and it was within the Space of Ground it contained that the Races were performed whether on Horseback, or in Chariots. At the Extremity of the *Lifts* was the Goal round which they were to turn; and as he who approached it the nearest formed a shorter Circle, he was sure, all things else being equal, to come in sooner to the Place whence they set out. It was in this chiefly consisted the Address of those who guided the Chariots, and wherein at the same Time they run the greatest Hazard. For besides the Danger there was of encountering with another Chariot; if they happened to touch the Goal, the Axle-tree broke in a thousand Pieces, or received at least some fatal Blow which they could not recover. This is what *Horace* expresses in these Words, *Metas servidis evitata rotis* (2).

Again, beyond this Goal was another Occasion of Danger. I mean the Figure of the Genius *Taraxippus* which we have spoke of in the fifth Book of the second Volume, which was framed after such a Fashion as to fright the Horses. We cannot determine whether it was placed there of Purpose to augment the Danger of the Race, or if out of respect to that Genius, it had been left to stand there, as it had done before the Construction of the *Stadium*; but still this is certain, that it was a Place of very great Danger.

On both sides of these *Lifts*, all along were the Places for the Spectators. The principal ones were for the Judges and Persons of Distinction; the People, who flocked thither in Crowds, planted themselves wherever they could; for nothing equals the Curiosity they had for these Sorts of Exercises.

I said from the *Barrier* the Chariots entered the *Lifts*, and I shall add that these two Places were separated

(1) Pausan. in Eliac. (2) Ode 1.

ed by a Rope, which was let down by a kind of chanism, the Description whereof is in *Pausanias*; this was the Signal that gave Notice to enter the

These Games, which were celebrated about the summer-solstice, lasted five Days; for a single Day would not have sufficed for all the Trials of Skill that were exhibited there. As they were consecrated to *Vesta*, and made Part of the religious Ceremonies of *Paganism*, the first Day was destined for the Sacrifices, the second for the *Pentathlon* and the foot Race, the third for the Combat of the *Pancrace*, and the simple Wrestling Match; the other two, for the Horse and Chariot Races (a).

As the *Athletes* or Wrestlers fought naked in those Games, at least ever since the Accident I have mentioned, Matrons and Maids were prohibited, under pain of Death, to be present there, and even to pass *Alpheus* during the whole Time of their Celebration (1); and this Prohibition, as the Inhabitants of that Country told *Pausanias*, was so punctually observed, that there never was an Instance of any but one Woman's violating that Law. This Woman, whom they call *Callipatria*, and others *Phivonia*, being a widow, dressed herself after the Fashion of the Masters of the Exercises, and conducted her own Son *Pyrus* to *Olympia*. The young Man having been declared Conqueror, the Mother was so transported with joy, that she threw aside her Man's Habit, and jumped over the *Barrier* where she was planted with the other Masters, and so her Sex was discovered. However, she was pardoned for this Infringement of the Law, out of regard to her Father, her Brothers and Son, who had all been crowned at the same Games; and from that Time the Masters of Exercises were forbidden to appear otherwise than naked at these Shows. The Punishment imposed by the Law, was to throw the

a) There was from Time to Time some Variety as to the Order I speak of, as may be seen in *Pausanias*, in *Eliac*, cap. 9.

r) *Pausan. ibid. c. 8.*

the Women who durst infringe it, headlong from a very steep Rock which was called Mount *Typhaea*, on the other Side of the *Alpheus*.

The Men were also prohibited, under Pain of a considerable Fine, to use the least Fraud towards gaining the Victory; but neither Laws nor Penalties are always a Curb sufficient to confine Ambition within due Bounds. There were Tricks committed; and the severe Punishments inflicted upon them did not deter others from falling now and then into the same Faults. There were, says *Pausanias* (1), in the Way from the Temple of the Mother of the Gods to the *Stadium*, six Statues of *Jupiter*, all six of Bronze, which had been made of the Produce of the Fines to which Wrestlers had been condemned, who had used Fraud to win the Prize, as was signified by the Inscriptions in Elegiac Verse that were inserted there. The Verses inscribed upon the first, set forth that the Prize of the *Olympic* Games was gained, not by Money, but by Swiftness of Foot, and Strength of Body. Those of the second bore that this Statue had been erected by *Jupiter* to inspire the Combatants with Dread of the Vengeance of that God, if they durst violate the Laws prescribed to them; and it was much the same as to the rest.

Eumolpus the *Thessalian* is thought to be the first who bribed with Money those who offered themselves with him to the Gauntlet-fight; he was punished for having given this Money, and those to whom he had given it, for having received it. Tho' nothing was more infamous than this Fine, and the Monuments which I have mentioned, yet there was an *Athenian* named *Callipus*, who bought the Prize of the *Pentathlon*. He was condemned to the Fine; and *Hiperides*, the Deputy for *Athens*, having asked his Pardon, and not being able to obtain it, the *Athenians* forbade the Offender to pay this Fine; but the *Elians*, firm to the Maintenance of their Laws, excluded them from the Games, and this Interdiction lasted till upon their consulting the Oracle of *Delphos*, the Priests declared she had

(a) *Pausan. in Eliac. c. 22.*

had no Answer to give them till they had made Satisfaction to the *Eleans*. Upon this the *Athenians* submitted to the Fine, whereof the Produce was employed in consecrating to *Jupiter* six other Statues, with Inscriptions containing their History.

The prodigious Concourse of People which the Celebration of those Games drew to *Olympia*, enriched that City and all *Elis*: Accordingly nothing in all *Greece* was comparable to the Temple and Statue of *Olympian Jupiter*, whereof I have given some Description in the first Volume of this *Mythology*. About this Temple was a sacred Grove, named *Allis*, wherein besides the Chapels, Altars, and other Monuments consecrated to the Gods, and whereof we have a very full Description in the Author I have quoted so oft, were Statues, all by the Hand of the most celebrated Sculptors, erected in Honour of those who had won the Prizes in these Games; a valuable Reward, which added to the Laurel Crown wherewith they had their Heads incircled in Presence of all the Grandees and Persons of Distinction in *Greece*, and the Honour done them by the Cities in receiving them, were very capable to support that Ardour for Victory which animated the Combatants.

We may remark, before we close this Chapter, that the Descendants of *Helen* having formed a prodigious Number of Families in *Greece*, became so powerful, and gained therein so much Interest, that they made a Law be passed, ordaining that none but those who derived their Origine from those Families should be capable of being admitted to dispute the Prizes at the *Olympic Games*; and *Herodotus* informs us to this Purpose that *Alexander* the Great himself was obliged to prove his being one of the *Hellenes*, before he was received to enter the Lists in those Games. But the Consequence of this was that all the *Greeks* made it out that they were sprung from some one of those Families; so numerous and diffusive had they been in all the Country; and from that Time the Name of *Hellenes*, peculiar to

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one single People, became the general Name of all the
Greeks.

I have insisted at some length upon the Celebration of these Games; but as they were at the same Time, as has been said, the most ancient and most solemn of *Greece*, and as much the same Laws and Regulations were observed in the rest, much the same Exercises, Crowns for Reward, Judges and Combatants, as both the one and the other were bound by Oath to submit to certain Laws, I thought it was necessary to give a full Account of them: I shall be a great deal shorter in the Description of the rest.

C H A P. VI.
Of the Pythic Games:

I Have said in the History of *Apollo* (1), that the Overthrow of the Serpent *Pythion* gave rise to the Institution of the *Pythic Games*, which makes *Ausonius* say:

Pythia placando Delphi statuere Draconi (1).

I have explained this Fable, and shewed what we are to understand by this Monster which *Ovid* says had been formed of the Mud left upon the Earth by *Deucalion's* Deluge; what remains here is only to relate what particularly relates to these Games. First, 'tis uncertain at what Time they were instituted, and their first Founder is not known; for when *Pausanias* (2) gives the Honour thereof to *Diomedes*, who upon his Return from *Troy* built a Temple in Honour of *Apollo Epibaterius* (a), I am persuaded he is mistaken, since their Institution was a long while before the Time when that Heroe lived. What may be said with more Probability upon this Subject is, that he established in the Place where he erected the Temple now mentioned,

(1) Vol. II. B. 1. (2) Eli. (3) In *Corinth*.

(a) So called from a *Greek* Word, which signifies *conscendo*, to go on board, to intimate that this God had gone on board *Diomedes's* Fleet, to avoid the Danger to which he and his Companions were exposed.

the same Games that had been celebrated long before at *Delphos*.

At first, these Games consisted only in singing and Music Matches, as the same *Pausanias* observes, and consequently it would seem that they had been instituted only for celebrating the Praises of the God who had delivered the Earth from a Monster that threatened it with Desolation. The other Exercises were not admitted there 'till afterwards. 'Tis sufficiently plain in fact that the Thing was so, from those who disputed there the first Prizes, since in the first Representation (1) *Cbrysothemis* of *Crete* gained the Victory; and next *Thamyris* the Son of *Philammon*. What is singular in this, considering the Veneration that was generally entertained for all those Games which Religion had consecrated, and which were specially dedicated to some Divinity, is, that neither *Orpheus*, who was distinguished by his deep Wisdom and a profound Knowledge of the Mysteries, nor *Museus*, would ever condescend to dispute the Prizes of the *Pythic* Games. One *Eleutherus* was crowned there merely upon Account of his fine Voice, for the Hymn he sung was not his own. We are told that *Hesiod* was not admitted to dispute there for the Prize, because he could not sing in Concert with the Lyre. As for *Homer* (2), we read that he went to *Delphos*; but that being blind, he had made but little Use of his Talent of singing and playing upon the Lyre in Concert. The Painters too were admitted there to dispute the Prize, and *Timagorus* was preferred to *Pencus* the Brother of *Phidias*.

In later Times Changes were introduced into these Games. In the third Year of the forty eight *Olympiad*, the *Amphictyons*, leaving the Prize of Music and Poetry still to subsist, added two others to them (3), the first for those who sung in concert with the Flute, the other for those who played upon the Flute alone: At length the same Combats and Exercises were admitted at those Games as at *Olympia*. The Race in Chariots drawn by four Horses, after having been a long

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Time excluded, was introduced thither in the Time of *Orestes*. Even Children were by an express Law admitted at the Races both of the single and double *Stadium*. Immediately after, these are still *Pausanias's* Words, that is in the *Pythiad* next after that wherein Children were permitted to run, the Prize was abolished, and it was regulated that the Conquerors there should only have Crowns, as in the other Games of *Greece*. By this it appears that there was anciently a Prize in Money or Cloaths, &c. as at the Funeral Games of *Patroclus*, but wherein it precisely consisted is more than we can determine.

From these Games they retrenched afterwards the singing along with the Flute, because there was something mournful in it, which suited only with Elegies; but in Exchange Chariot Races with four Horses were admitted; and *Clisthenes*, the same who afterwards became the Tyrant of *Sicyon*, was crowned at the first of those Races.

To these and some other Exercises which *Pausanias* mentions, the *Pancrace* was added at last, in the sixty first *Pythiad*, wherein *Laidus* of *Thebes* gained the Victory. The Laurel Crown was at first the sole Reward of the Conquerors, and the Branches of this Tree were preferred to those of others, from a prevailing Opinion that *Apollo* had been in Love with *Daphné* (1). Afterwards a Reward was given in Money, even in the Places where the Use of Crowns prevailed.

To conclude, we may observe that anciently these Games were celebrated only every eighth Year, but afterwards once in four Years, and they served for an *Æra* to the Inhabitants of *Delphos*, and the Neighbourhood. The Time of their Celebration, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pausanias* and *Plutarch*, regularly coincided with the third Year of each *Olympiad*. This Change was introduced by the *Amphictyons*, for which I refer to *Petavius*, *Scaliger*, and especially to the Cycles of the ingenious *Dodwel*.

The *Romans* were induced by some Verses of *Martius*
to

(1) See the History of *Apollo* V. II.

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to adopt these Games in the Year of their City 642 (1), and gave them the Name of *Apollinares*. If you would overcome the Enemy, said the Prediction of that Soothsayer, institute Games in Honour of Apollo. At first the Pretor presided in the Representation of these Games, then *Quindecimvirs* were appointed to take Care of them, and to exhibit them after the manner of the *Greeks*.

C H A P. VI.
Of the Nemean Games.

IN the History of the first *Theban Expedition* (2) I have given Account of the Institution of the *Nemean Games* by *Adrastus* and the other Chiefs who accompany'd him, after the sad Adventure that befel the young *Archemorus*, or, as others call him, *Opbeltes* the Son of King *Lycurgus*, whom *Hyppisphile* the Daughter of *Tboas* suckled. This Tradition concerning the Institution of those Games, tho' well vouched by Antiquity, was not however the only one that passed current in *Greece*, and there was another that attributed it to *Hercules*, who founded them after having rid the Forest of *Nemea*, and the Neighbourhood, of that Lion so celebrated in Fable, whereof he always wore the Skin. This is the Opinion of *Tertullian*, who had got it, no doubt, from the *Greek Authors*: *Olympia Jovi, quæ sunt Romæ Capitolina, item Herculi Nemea* (3). Further, these Games, tho' renewed at stated Times, that is, either every three Years, according to some Authors, or rather every fifth Year, were much of the Nature of Funeral Games. This is the Account given of them by *Statius* (a) and *Artemidorus*: *The Crown that is given at Nemea*, says the latter (4), *is one of those that are destined to Funeral Combats*, called ἀγῶνας ἐπιταφίους, in Honour of those who died in some Combat.

F f 2

In

(1) Tit. Liv. l. 25. (2) Above B. 4. (3) De Spect. c. 11.

(a) *Illic et Siculi superassent dona sepulchri,
Et Nemees lucum, & Pelopis solemnia primi.*

Syl. l. 5.

(4) L. 79.

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In these Games the same Exercises were performed as in the others, even those of Vocal and Instrumental Music. 'Tis true, *F. Faur*, who contends that this Trial of Skill was then in Use, quotes for his Opinion a Passage in *Hyginus* (1), which proves nothing for the *Nemean* Games, for there that Mythologist is only speaking of the Games of *Argos*, which he plainly distinguishes from those of *Nemea*, which he treats of in a separate Article; however, the Thing is not the less certain, since we have an express Passage for it from *Pausanias* (2), where it is said that “*Philopemen* joining in the *Nemean* Games, where the Players on the Harp disputed the Prize of Music, *Pylades* of *Megalopolis*, one of the most skilled in that Art, and who had already won the Prize at the *Pythic* Games, began to sing a Song of *Timotheus* of *Miletus*, intitled *the Gates*, which begun with this Verse: *Hero, to whom the Greeks owe their happy Liberty*, presently all turned their Eyes on *Philopemen*, and with one Voice cried out, that nothing could be more applicable to that great Man.”

The Reward of the Conquerors in the *Nemean* Games, was a Crown of green Parsly, in Memory of the Adventure of the young *Archemarus*, whom his Nurse had laid down upon some Sprigs of that Plant, when she left him to guide the Leaders of the *Argive* Army; and their Celebration served for an *Æra* to the *Argives*, and the Inhabitants of that Part of *Arcadia*, which lay next to the Forest of *Nemea*.

C H A P. VII.

Of the Isthmic Games.

THIS necessary, before we discourse of these Games, to resume in a few Words what has been said of *Ino* and *Melicerta* (3). *Atthamas* King of the *Orchomenians*, a People of *Beotia*, having divorced his

(1) *Fab.* 273.

(2) *L. 8 c. 50.*

(3) *Vol. I. and Vol. II. Hist. of the Argonauts.*

Chap. VII. explained by HISTORY. 437

his former Wife, named *Nephele*, by whom he had two Sons, *Phryxus* and *Hellé*, and having married *Ino* (1) by whom he had also two Sons, *Learchus* and *Melicerta*; the latter persecuted the Children of the former Marriage, so far as to make her Husband believe, that the Oracle of *Delpbos* demanded the Blood of *Phryxus*, as the Means of putting a Stop to the Famine, whereof she herself was the Cause; and the too credulous *Atamas* was upon the Point of sacrificing his Son to the Safety of his Subjects; but upon Information of his Wife's whole Management, he slew her Son *Learchus*, and set himself in Pursuit of *Ino* with so much Eagerness, that she was forced to throw herself down with *Melicerta*, whom she held in her Arms, from the Top of the Rock *Moluria*, into the Sea. A Dolphin, we are told, or rather the Waves, carried *Melicerta* into the Isthmus of *Corinth*, and the *Corinthians*, at the Persuasion of *Sisyphus*, the Brother of *Atamas*, after having given him a splendid Funeral, instituted to his Honour Games which got the Name of *Isthmic*, from the Place where they were celebrated the first Time.

These Games, wherein were exhibited the same Trials of Skill as in the others, and chiefly those of Music and Poetry, having been interrupted, probably by some Wars, were afterwards re-established by *Theseus*, who consecrated them to *Neptune*, whose Son he pretended to be, as to the God who peculiarly presided over the *Isthmus* of *Corinth*; and they were renewed so regularly every five Years, about the Middle of the Month *Hecatombion*, that they were not even discontinued after the City *Corinth* had been destroy'd and reduced to Ashes by *Mummius*; the *Sicyonians* having received Orders to celebrate them (2), notwithstanding the public Grief and Desolation. When the City was afterwards rebuilt, the new Inhabitants resumed the Care of these Games, and continued to exhibit them with great Regularity. Some Time after, the

F f 3

Romans

(1) Apollod. l. 1. Ovid. Met. l. 5. &c.

(2) Pausan. In Corinth. l. 2.

Romans were admitted to them, and celebrated them with so much Pomp and Apparatus, that besides the ordinary Exercises, a Hunting Match was there exhibited, wherein were presented the most rare Animals; the City *Corinth* neglecting no Means whereby to please their Conquerors: And what still encreased their Fame is, that they served for an *Æra* to the *Corinthians*, and Inhabitants of the Isthmus. A Crown of Pine-Leaves was the Reward of those who gained the Victory in those Games.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the Scenic Games; and the Prizes proposed for the Tragic Poets in the Games of Greece.

AMong the Scenic Games are ranked, the Trials of Skill of the Tragic Poets, and those of the Musicians and Players on Instruments, who disputed the Prize there. Nothing came up to the excessive Fondness the *Greeks* had for these Shows, but the Ardour of those who were to exhibit them, in making Preparations for them. These Games were, as has been said, consecrated to *Bacchus*, *Apollo*, *Venus*, and *Minerva*, and never begun till the ordinary Sacrifices had first been offered to the Gods. The Autumn, the Time of Vintage, was the Season made Choice of especially for the Representation of Tragedies, because those Shows were especially consecrated to *Bacchus*. The Tragic Poets, who were willing to dispute the Prize there, were obliged to prepare four Pieces, three Tragedies, and a Satire; this is what was called *Tetralogia*. It was requisite that those Pieces which were hardly represented but upon such Occasions, tho' they sometimes happened to be resumed, should have some Connection with one another; but the Satire was only a Farce, not unlike those that were formerly acted upon our Theatre, as appears from the *Cyclop* of *Euripides*, the only Piece of that Kind we have now extant. 'Tis easy to judge that those Satires were extremely free, and
full

full of Buffoonry, and consequently merely designed to entertain the People, and to gain their Applause. 'Tis surprising that the first Genius's of the *Athenians* should have submitted to degrade the Buskin to so mean and ludicrous a Piece of comic Humour.

It was in this kind, I mean the four Pieces joined together, that *Eschiles* disputed the Prize with his Contemporaries; but *Suidas* tells us, that *Sophocles* was the first that opposed Tragedy to Tragedy, and 'tis probable that this Custom took Place afterwards. And indeed, it was a Thing pretty singular thus to bring into Competition tragic and comic Pieces, four against four, since it might very well happen that one or two of a Poet's Works might be preferable to an equal Number of those of his Competitor, while at the same Time the other two of the former, might be inferior to those of the latter.

At the End of all these Representations, the Votes, which were exactly collected in the Time of Action, were numbered, and he who had the most Votes was publicly crowned. The Poet on whom this Honour was conferred, took the Title of *Poet Laureat*, because the Crown he received was of Laurel. This Reward, frivolous as it may appear to mercenary Souls, was the Boundary of those great Mens Ambition, and procur'd them the most flattering Distinctions. As to what remains, the Practice of crowning Poets has lasted a long Time, especially in *Italy*, for which I refer to the Dissertation of the *Abbé Reynel*, which is to be published in the Volumes of the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles-Lettres*, which are printing at present.

As to the Games wherein were proposed Prizes of Poetry and Music, the one not going without the other, there were of them among the *Greeks* in the earliest Periods of Time, and that not a few. These Trials of Skill were admitted in the great Games, that is, in the *Pythian*, *Nemean*, and *Isthmian*; as for the *Olympic* Games, there is some doubt, at least with respect to the heroic Age. For *Suetonius* (1), from whom we

F f 4

learn

(1) In *Nerone*.

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learn that *Nero* disputed therein the Prize of Music, adds that this was a Thing new and unusual : *Olympia præter consuetudinem Musicum Agona commisit*. But, as *M. Burette* very judiciously remarks (a), perhaps these Words, *contrary to Custom, out of Course*, refers only to the Season, or the Time when that Emperor exhibited those Games. And indeed, if we may believe *Athenæus* (1), *Cleomenes* the Rhapsodist sung there the Poem of *Empedocles*, intitled *The Expiations*, and sung it from his Memory. To this Argument we may add the Remark of *Pausanias* (2), who informs us, that near *Olympia* there was a *Gymnasium*, called *Lalichmian*, open to all who had a Mind to be Competitors in those Trials of Wit and Learning of whatever kind, whence those of musical Poetry were probably not excluded. The learned Academic now named, adds to these Arguments, the Authority of *Eliau* (3), who relates that *Xenocles* and *Euripides* disputed the Prize of dramatic Poetry in those same Games, so early as the eighty first Olympiad ; and we find at the End of *Eusebius's* Chronicle, that in the forty fourth there was a Prize proposed for the Players upon the Trumpet, which *Timæus* the *Eliau* won.

However it may have been as to these Combats in the *Olympic* Games, 'tis certain that they were common in the other three I have named, especially in the *Pythic* Games, whereof they made the first and most considerable Part.

But it was not only in the great Games of *Greece*, that those Prizes of Poetry and Music were proposed ; they were admitted also into many others that were celebrated in several Cities of *Greece*, such as *Argos* and *Sicyon*, as we learn from *Plutarch* (4) ; into *Thebes*, as may be gathered from the 25th Chapter of the 15th Book of *Eliau*, who tells us, it was in that City *Pindar* was vanquished in that Sort of Trial by *Corinnas* ; and into *Lacedemon*, in the *Carnian* Games

(a) Remarks upon the Treatise of Music by *Plutarch*.

(1) L. 14. c. 3. (2) L. 6. c. 23. (3) Var. Hist. L. 2. c. 8.

(4) Treatise of Music.

Games (a), that were celebrated in Honour of *Apollo*, where *Thersander* was the first who gained the Prize (1). into *Athens*, during the Feast of the *Presses* (2), and that of the *Panathenaia*; to *Epidaurus*, in those of *Esculapius* (3); to *Ithome*, a City of *Messenia*, during the Feast of *Jupiter*, as *Pausanias* expressly says (4). In like manner *Delos*, *Samos*, *Dion* in *Macedonia*, and several other Cities, exhibited these Games.

In those Trials of Skill the Voice was accompany'd with some Instrument, especially with the Harp; but I believe they sometimes disputed with the Voice alone without any Instrument; as they did with Instruments without the Voice.

Vitruvius (5) observes, that one of the *Ptolemies* consecrated to *Apollo* this Sort of Trial, probably at the Time of its Admission into *Egypt*; but from the earliest Times we can trace, for the Origine thereof is not known, the *Greeks* had dedicated it to the Gods now named. I say from the earliest Times, for we learn from *Pausanias* and *Hyginus*, that this Sort of Combat was exhibited in the Games which *Acastus* instituted in Honour of his Father *Pelias*, after the Return of the *Argonauts*. I have already shewn that *Linus*, *Thamyris*, and some others, had been Conquerors there,

(a) I know not if I have given Account of the Origin of those Games elsewhere; however I shall give it here. The Feast *Carnea* had been instituted at *Sparta* in the 26th Olympiad, the Occasion of which was this, according to *Pausanias*, L. 5. c. 12. An *Acarinian* named *Carnus*, a famous Soothsayer, whom *Apollo* himself had inspired, having been slain by *Hippotus* the Son of *Phylax*; *Apollo* infected the whole Camp of the *Dorians* with the Plague. Upon which the Murderer was banished, and the Manes of *Carnus* appeased by Expiations, appointed with that View, under the Name of the *Carnean Feasts*. Others, according to the same Author, assign a quite different Origin of this Feast, and of the Surname of *Carnian* given to *Apollo*, and tell us that the *Greeks*, to build the Wooden Horse, having cut down upon Mount *Ila*, a great Quantity of Cortil-trets (*απεισίον*) in a Wood sacred to *Apollo*, thereby incurred that God against them; and that in order to appease him, they instituted a Worship in his Honour, gave him the Name of *Carnean*, transposing the Letters of the Name of the Tree to which their Disgrace was owing.

(1) *Plutarch*, ibid. (2) *Idem*. ibid. (3) *Plato* in his *Ion*. (4) L. 4. (5) In *Proem*.

there, in that heroic Age. The Poets and Musicians shewed a great Zeal for these Games, and frequently came from a very great Distance into Places where they were celebrated; so much were they charmed at that Time with the Glory of Victory. This sort of Trial, in short, must have been very amusing to those who were Witnesses to it.

I must not forget, before I close this Chapter, a Story related by *Conon* (1); for tho' it appears only composed for Amusement, yet it is supported by good Authorities. Two Musicians, of whom the one was of *Locris*, namely *Eunomus*; the other *Aristan* (a) of *Rbegium*, having gone to *Delpbos* to dispute the Prize of their Art, it happened that the former having broke a String of his Harp, forthwith a Grasshopper appeared, which alighting upon the Harp, supplied so well the Deficiency of the String by its Singing, that *Eunomus* gained the Victory. The same Author adds, that tho' the two Cities which he Names were only separated by the River *Alex*, the Grasshoppers sung on the Side of *Locris*, and were mute on the Side of *Rbegium*. What is singular herein, is, that this Particularity is attested by *Strabo*, by *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pliny* and *Pausanias*. The first of these Authors gives a very plausible Account of it, namely that *Rbegium* is a woody and moist Country, which makes that Insect languid and dull, while it is dry and open towards *Locris*, which leaves the Grasshopper liberty to sing. When 'tis known, as the thing is now-a-days beyond Question, that the Chirping of the Grasshoppers is nothing but the rapid Motion of their Wings in warm Weather, this makes the Account of that learned and judicious Geographer appear still more rational; to which we may add, that it is undoubtedly this Singularity had given rise to the Fable. The Inhabitants of *Locris*, had represented in Marble *Eunomus*, with a Grass-

(1) Nar. 5.

(a) This Name is not to be found in *Photius*, but *Strabo*, who relates the same Story from *Timæus*, has supplied it.

Grashopper, no doubt with a Design to confirm the Truth of the Adventure.

C H A P. IX.

The Continuation of the same Subject.

AFTER having discoursed at some Length of the Chief of these Games, of those who had instituted them, and of the Time when they were represented, 'tis proper to give at least some Account of the rest, as well those that were celebrated in *Greece*, as those that were adopted, or newly instituted by the *Romans*; which I shall do in this Chapter, with as much Brevity as possible, as their Names shall occur.

Of the Game called Trojan, or the Game of the Youth.

This Game or Exercise, which *Eneas* instituted at the Funeral Games of his Father (1), was for the Youth, who being divided into two Bands shewed therein both their Valour and Address. The *Romans*, who adopted this sort of Combat, represented it in the *Circus*. *Sylla*, as we read in *Plutarch* (2), exhibited this Show; but civil Wars interrupted the Performance thereof until *Cesar*, who restored it, as we are told by *Suetonius*: *Trojam ludit turma duplex, majorum minorumque puorum* (3); and from that Time, the Representations thereof were pretty frequent, since the same Author informs us, that *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, *Claudius*, and *Nero*, exhibited it to the *Roman* People; but none of the Emperors did it either with so much Pomp, or so often as *Augustus*, who gave a Representation of it for the first Time after the Victory at *Actium*, in the Year of *Rome* 726. This Prince chose for the Purpose two Companies from among the *Roman* Youth, the one younger, and the other of a more advanced Age; *majorum minorumque delectu*, as it is in *Suetonius*; being persuaded that this Exercise would give the Youth

(1) Virg. *Æn.* l. 5. (2) In *Syll.* (3) In *Cæs.*

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Youth of Quality an Opportunity of forming themselves, and of shewing their Address.

In order to give a just Idea of it, I believe I cannot do better than copy the Description of it from *Virgil*.

*Now call'd the Prince, before the Games were done,
The hoary Guardian of his royal Son,
And gently whispers in his faithful Ear,
To bid Ascanius in his Arms appear,
And with his youthful Band and Courser come,
To pay due Honours at his Grandfire's Tomb.
Next he commands the huge assembled Train
To quit the Ground, and leave an open Plain.
Strait on their bridled Steeds, with Grace Divine,
The beauteous Youths before their Fathers shine.
The blooming Trojans and Sicilians throng,
And gaz'd with Wonder as they march'd along.
Around their Brows a virid Wreath they wore &
Two glittering Lances tip'd with Steel they bore:
These a light Quiver stor'd with Shafts sustain,
And from their Neck depends a golden Chain.
On sprightly Steeds advance three graceful Bands,
And each a little blooming Chief commands.
Beneath each Chief twelve sprightly Striplings came,
In shining Arms, in Looks and Age the same.
Grac'd with his Grandfire's Name, Polites' Son,
Young Priam, leads the first gay Squadron on;
A Youth, whose Progeny must Latium grace:
He press'd a dappled Steed of Thracian Race:
Before, white Spots on either Foot appear,
And on his Forehead blaz'd a silver Star.
Atys the next advanc'd, with Looks divine,
Atys the Source of the great Attian Line:
Iulus' Friendship grac'd the lovely Boy:
And last Iulus came the Pride of Troy,
In Charms, superior to the blooming Train;
And spurr'd his Tyrian Courser to the Plain;
Which Dido gave the princely Youth, to prove
A lasting Pledge, memorial of her Love.*

*The inferior Boys on beauteous Coursers ride,
 From great Acestes' Royal Stalls supply'd.
 Now flush'd with Hopes, now pale with anxious Fear,
 Before the shouting Crowds, the Youths appear;
 The shouting Crowds admire their Charms, and trace
 Their Parents Lines in every lovely Face.
 Now round the Ring, before their Fathers, ride
 The Boys in all their Military Pride,
 Till Periphantes' sounding Lash from far
 Gave the loud Signal of the mimic War;
 Strait, in three Bands distinct, they break away,
 Divide in Order, and their Ranks display:
 Swift at the Summons they return, and throw
 At once their hostile Lances at the Foe:
 Then take a new Excursion on the Plain;
 Round within Round, an endless Course maintain;
 And now advance, and now retreat again;
 With well-disssembled Rage their Rivals dare,
 And please the Crowd with Images of War.
 Alternate now they turn their Backs in Flight,
 Now dart their Lances, and renew the Fight;
 Then in a Moment from the Combat cease,
 Rejoyn their scatter'd Bands, and move in Peace.
 So windes delusive, in a thousand Ways
 Perplext and intricate, the Cretan Maze;
 Round within Round, the blind Mæanders run,
 Untrac'd and dark, and end where they begun.
 The skilful Youths in Sport, alternate ply
 Their shifting Course; by Turns they fight, and fly:
 As Dolphins gambol on the watry Way,
 And, bounding o'er the Tides, in wanton Circles play.*

Pitt's Eneid V. ver. 702, &c.

Such was the Order of these Games; and when afterwards *Ascanius* built the City *Alba Longa* (1), he brought this military Diversion again into Repute, and taught that Exercise to the ancient *Latins*. The *Albans* having received it from him, transmitted it down to their Posterity. In fine, Rome in Honour of the

(1) *Virg. ibid.*

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the Memory of its Founders, resumed the Use of that ancient Carroufel, and the Body of Youths that were prepared for this Exercise, was still called, in the Time of *Virgil*, the *Trojan Band*.

The Games of Augustus.

Tacitus informs us (1) that these Games were instituted in Honour of *Augustus*, at the Request of the *Tribunes* of the People, who asked Liberty to exhibit them at their own Charges, and that the Celebration of them should be mark'd in the public Calendar. But what that Historian advances on this Head, is not accurate, since it was neither on that Occasion those Games were instituted, nor that they were register'd for the first Time in the Calendar, since their Original reaches back to the Year of *Rome* 735. When *Augustus*, after having made the Tower of *Greece* and *Sicily* upon his Return to *Rome*, allowed an Altar to be raised to *Fortune of safe Conduct*, *Fortune reduci*; and that Day was mark'd in the Calendar under the Name of *Augustalia* (2); and it was eight Years after, under the Consulship of *Ælius Tubero*, and *Paulus Fabius*, that these Games were instituted by an Act of the Senate, and celebrated for the first Time on the fourth of the Ides of *October* *.

Of the Capitoline Games.

These Games were founded by the *Romans*, according to *Titus Livius*, to thank the Gods for having saved the Capitol, when the *Gauls* plundered *Rome*; and to add to their Magnificence, and at the same Time that they might be renewed at stated Times, a new College of Priests was instituted: *Capitolinos ludos*, says that Author, *Solemnibus aliis addidimus; Collegiumque ad id novum, autore Senatu, condidimus*. In these Games three Sorts of Exercises were commonly exhibited, the Horse Race, the Trial in vocal and instrumental Music, and

(1) *Annal.* I. c. 15. (2) *Diod.* c. 54.

* The eleventh of *October*.

and the *Gymnastic Games*; that is, all those which composed the *Pentatblum* (1).

The Games of Ceres.

Tho' the *Greeks* celebrated the greater and the lesser Mysteries in Honour of *Ceres*, as has been said in the fourth Book of the second Volume, yet no Games were therein represented; thus those I speak of here, owe their Origine to the *Romans*, and, according to *Tacitus*, it was (a) *C. Mummius* while he was Edile, gave the first Representation of them in the *Circus* (b). But he was not their Founder, since we learn from *Titus Livius*, that long before him, even from the second Year of the *Punic War*, under the Dictatorship of *Servilius Geminus*, they had been exhibited. The Celebration of these Games, which lasted eight Days, commenced on the Day before the Ides, or on the twelfth of *April* (2).

As in those Games the Mourning of *Ceres* for the Rape of her Daughter was commemorated, as well as in the *Eleusinian Mysteries*, the *Roman Ladies* appeared there in white Robes, with lighted Torches in their Hands, to represent that Goddess seeking for her dear *Proserpine*; the Men too who joined in them, came thither fasting; for the strictest Abstinence was enjoined before Night, especially from Wine and Women, and most punctually observed too: The smallest Blemish excluded the Spectators from them, and the public Herald took Care to warn all who might profane them, to quit the Assembly. If any one was convicted of having stained his Purity, he was punished with no less than Death. This is confirmed by the unanimous Testimony of all the Historians who have spoke of the Celebration of these Games, and it would be an easy Matter

(1) Petr. Faber.

(a) Tandem statueret Circensium ludorum die, qui Cereri celebratur equi destinata. Annal. lib. 15.

(b) Circus erit pompa celebris numeroque Deorum, Primaque ventosis palma petetur equis.

Hi Cereris ludi. &c.

Ovid. Fast. lib. 4.

(2) Ibid.

ter to quote them. As to what remains the same Shows were exhibited there as in the other Games, especially that of the Horse-Race. I believe they were celebrated every fifth Year; at least it was after such an Interval that the *Sibyllin* Oracles ordained a Day of fasting by Way of Preparation for them, to which was added the Use of the warm Bath, as very conducive to Continency and Purity, with which they were obliged to come up to the Solemnity.

The Aetiac Games.

Augustus, according to *Suetonius* (1), after the Victory he gained over *Marc-Antony*, built the City of *Nicopolis*, and there instituted Games in Honour of *Apollo*, to be renewed every fifth Year. *Dion Chrysostom* (2) adds that in their Celebration the *Gymnic* Trials of Skill were admitted, with those of Music, and the Horse-Race; that *Augustus* gave them the Name of *Aetiac*, from the Promontory of that Name, where *Apollo*, to whom he believed himself indebted for the Advantage he had gained over the Enemy, was especially honoured; that he committed the Care of them to four Colleges of Priests; namely, the *Pontifs*, *Augurs*, *Septemvirs*, and *Quindecimvirs*; and that they were celebrated afterwards at *Rome* in the *Stadium* made for that Purpose in the *Campus Martius*. From those two Authors it appears that *Augustus* was the Founder of these Games; but *Strabo*, more exact, informs us that they were celebrated at the Promontory of *Actium* long before him, and that he only renewed them, added to their Solemnity, and ordered them to be repeated every five Years; whereas before they were represented every third Year; there the Conquerors were crowned, as in the other Games.

Of the Agonal and Aetyc Games.

These Games, which were celebrated at *Rome* with a great deal of Magnificence, were so called from the Victim that was offered there, which went by the Name of

(1) In *August.* c. 13 (2) *Lib.* 51.

of *Agonia*, As the *Tyber* sometimes overflowed the Plain where the *Circus* stood, they were represented near one of the Gates of *Rome*, which from thence was called *Agonal*, as well as the little Hills adjoining.

The *Astic* Games were originally *Greek*, and at the same Time of the *Scenic* Kind: The *Romans* borrowed them from the *Atbenians*, and the Emperor *Caligula* appointed them to be celebrated first at *Syracuse*; but the *Neapolitans*, who were the Race of a *Greek* Colony, had represented them before. Authors are divided as to the Signification of the Name of these Games: some are of Opinion that it answers to *Urbani* in Latin, because they were celebrated in the City, in Opposition to those that were exhibited in the Country, and were therefore termed *Rustici*. *Ausonius* (1), who says the *Romans* had adopted them, seems to confound them with the *Astiac* Games; but perhaps the true Pronunciation of this Word is *Attic*, as it is in some of the Manuscripts of *Suetonius*.

Of the Games celebrated in the Camps.

These Games did not require so much Ceremony and Apparatus as the others; they were celebrated by the soldiers themselves in their Camps, either for their Exercise or Recreation. And indeed nothing was more proper to keep them in Breath than those Sorts of Combats, among which, besides Wrestling, Running and other Trials of Skill, it seems they fought with the fiercest Animals; this is what we learn from a Passage of *Suetonius*, who says *Tiberius*, to shew that he enjoyed a perfect State of Health, for there was a Surge to the contrary, not only was present at these Games, but himself attacked a Boar with his Arrows.

Of the Games of Castor and Pollux.

The *Romans*, who conferred upon these two Heroes a particular Worship, as has been said in their History, instituted these Games in the War they had with the *Latins*, who had abandoned the *Romans*, and joined

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the *Tarquins*. It was the Dictator *Aulus Postumius* made a solemn Vow to exhibit these Games in Honour of those two Heroes, if he was successful in that Expedition; and the Senate, in Confirmation of *Aulus Postumius's* Vow, passed an Act for the Continuation of these Games every Year (1). Nothing exceeded the magnificent Pomp with which they were ushered in and accompanied, as we learn from *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* (2). After the ordinary Sacrifices, says he, such as presided over those Games set out from the Capitol to march in Order thro' the *Forum* to the *Circus* (3), where this Show was exhibited; they were preceded by their Children, on Horse-back, when the themselves were of the *Equestrian* Order, while the *Plebeians* marched a Foot. The former composed many Troops, and the latter Companies of Foot Soldiers that Strangers, who came in Crowds to this Spectacle and who were received on the Occasion with all possible Regard, might see the Resource which *Rome* had in that illustrious Body of Youth, who were ready to appear soon in the midst of their Armies. This Procession, followed with Chariots, some drawn by two, some by four Horses, and with the other Knights who were to run in the *Circus*, was closed by the *Athletes*, who were also to fight there.

Of the Megaleſian Games celebrated in Honour of Cybele and the other great Gods.

These Games, instituted by the *Greeks*, and adopted by the *Romans*, went by the Name of great Games *Megalenses*, from the Goddess in whose Honour they were celebrated, and who was called the Great-Mother *Cicero* (4), who informs us that a great Concourse of People and Strangers frequented these Games, added that they were exhibited upon the *Palatine* Mount near the Temple, in Order to be represented in the

ver,

(1) *Dion. Hal.* l. 7. (2) *Ibid.* (3) *Panvinus de Lud. Circ.*

(4) *De Arusp.* c. 12.

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very Presence of the Goddess. Their Celebration fell on the Day before the Ides of *April* on which the *Romans* had received her Worship (a).

Some Authors have confounded these Games with those of the other great Gods, who had the same Name; but *Cicero* (1) plainly distinguishes them. The last had been instituted by *Tarquin* the elder; the others not till the *Romans* brought from *Pessinus* the Worship of *Cybele*, in the Year of *Rome* 543. under the Consulship of *Cornelius Cethegus*, and *Cornelius Tuditanus*. The Day of their Celebration was likewise different, since those of *Cybele* fell on the Day before the Ides of *April*, as has been now said from *Titus Livius*, and those of the great Gods, on the Day before the Calends of *September*, as we learn from *Cicero* (2).

Of the Floral Games.

In Order to understand what I have to say on this Article, we must call to Mind what has been observed elsewhere of the Goddess *Flora*, worshipped at *Rome* from the Foundation of that City, or from the Time even of *Romulus* and *Numa*. She had Priests and Festivals, and was different from a Courtesan of the same Name, who made the Senate and *Roman* People Heirs to an Estate, which she had made by Prostitution.

Further, it was not upon the Estate she had left that the *Floral* Games were instituted, nor upon the Money raised by their Representation, as some Authors will have it; but upon the Fines to which those were condemned who had been convicted of Peculation, as we learn from *Ovid* (3), and more particularly from Medals, on which are represented the Genius of the *Roman* People, with the Figure of a Ram, or of a Sheep, the Symbols of Peculation. These Medals, which are of Silver, were struck during the Edileship of *Publius Malleolus*, and the Institution of the Games falls under the Consulship of *Claudius Centho* and *Marcus Sempronius*,

G g 2

(a) *Pertulere Deam pridie Idus Aprilis: isque dies festus factus fuit: populus frequens dona Deæ in Pallatium tulit, lectisterniumque et ludi fuerunt, Megalesia appellata.* Tit. Liv. 29.

(1) In Verr. l. 5. (2) Loc. cit. (3) Fast. l. 7. v. 279.

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nus, in the Year of Rome 513 but it was not till the Year 580 that these Games became annual, on Occasion of a Famine which lasted three Years, and which had been ushered in by cold and rainy Springs; the Senate, to appease *Flora*, and obtain better Crops, having passed an Act that Year; appointing the annual Celebration of these Games at the End of *April* (a) in Honour of that Goddess, which was regularly executed for the future (b).

Tho' the Expence of these Games was not defrayed from the Estate of the Courtisan *Flora*, they must needs however have been instituted upon Occasion of her Testament, tho' afterwards they were dedicated to the ancient *Flora*, since therein the Memory of the Gallantries of the former was kept up, by the excessive Liberty, or rather the unbounded Licentiousness and Impudence that prevailed there, as has been said in its proper Place, where I have mentioned a Circumstance of *Cato's* Life, who left them that he might not lay the People under a Restraint by his Presence.

C H A P. X.

Of some other Games.

I Should never have done were I to speak at any length of all the other Games, since there were no considerable Cities in the *Roman* Empire, but valued themselves upon the Celebration of some Games or other, either upon the Arrival of the Magistrates who were to govern them, or upon Occasion of Victories and other Advantages gained by the Common-wealth. The Magistrates also took Care to exhibit Games at their own Expence, when they entered on their Office; and tho' of all Offices the Edileship was the least considerable, it was however during it that the greatest Expence

(a) The fourth of the Calends of *May*, or the 28th of *April*.

(b) *Convenire Patres, &c, si bene floreat annus,*

Numinibus nostris annua festa vocent.

Annimus votis; Consul cum consule Lænus

Posthumio ludos perfoluere mihi.

Ovid. Fast. lib. 5. v. 324.

pence was laid out upon those Games, because the People judged from thence how those who were invested with it were likely to behave when they came to be advanced to more considerable ones. Lastly, others were exhibited at the Birth of great Men, which were called *Natalitii*, and on a thousand other Occasions. However, as among those Games some were very noted tho' commonly not annual, as most of those I have discoursed of hitherto, it will not be amiss to end with a summary Account of them.

Of the Circensian Games.

Tho' by the *Circensian* Games we are to understand only the Combats, the Races, and other Exercises that were performed in the Places known by the Name of *Circus*, which had been raised for the Representation of all Sorts of Games, yet the Antiquaries comprehend under that Name, the Race which was instituted in the *Isthmus* of *Corinth* by *Cenomaus* King of *Pisa*, to rid himself of those who were courting his Daughter *Hippodamia*, and wherein *Pelops* was Conqueror, as has been said in its Place; or that other Race which *Hercules* instituted in *Elis*, wherein he having gained the Victory, received a Crown of Olive from the Hand of the same *Pelops* (a): *Primus Hercules hunc honorem habuit, manibus Pelopis*, as we have in *Laetantius*.

Romulus, after the Rape of the *Sabine* Women, appointed the same Games to be celebrated in the open Fields, for there was no Place then destined for that Purpose. These first Games of the *Romans* went by the Name of *Consualia*; and if *Virgil* gives the Name of *Circensian* Games to those which *Romulus* exhibited on the Occasion now mentioned, it is by Way of Anticipation; for it was only in the Time of *Tarquinius* the Elder that the first *Circus* was built. These Games were also called by the Name of the great Games,

G g 3

Ludi

(a) *Primum Pisa per arva,
Hunc pias Alcides Pelopi certavit honorem,
Pulveremque fera crinem deterfit oliva.*

Stat. Theb. l. 6.

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Ludi magni. I insist no farther on these Edifices, which were proper for the Chariot and Horse-Races, and were very numerous at *Rome* and about it, because their Names and Figures may be seen in *Onuphrius Parvulus*, who has composed a Treatise of Purpose upon the Subject.

The Games of the Crofs-ways or Compitales, and others.

Tarquin the elder having observed a Prodigy in the sacred Hearth of the Household-Gods, instituted these Games, that were celebrated afterwards at certain stated Times, that is, during the Winter, and about the Time of the *Saturnalia*.

The *Equestrian* Games were those whose Celebration consisted in Horse-Races, and of them the *Romans* distinguished two Sorts. The *Decumani* were such as they represented every tenth Year, and which the Senate had instituted in Honour of *Augustus*, who every fifth Year, and sometimes every tenth Year, proposed to quit the Reins of Government which he kept however his whole Life-time. The Games of *the Leaves*, were so called either from the Leaves that the Crowns were made of, or because the People threw of them upon the Conquerors (1). Those of the Gladiators took their Names from the desperate Engagement of that Sort of Combatants, who fought therein with inconceivable Fury and Obstinacy, and for which the *Romans* had an inhuman Curiosity. The *Gymnic* Games borrowed theirs from the Nakedness of the Wrestlers, and from the five Sorts of Combats that were exhibited therein, which made up what the Ancients called the *Gymnastic*. The *Instaurative* Games were those that were represented a second Time. The *Lustral*, *Lustrales*, or *Rubigalia*, had been instituted in Honour of *Mars*, and it was during their Celebration that the Arms, the Trumpets, &c. were purified. The Games of *Mars*, which were celebrated on the first of *August*, had been instituted in Honour of that God, to perpetuate the Memory of the Temple built to his Honour in the Time of the Emperor *Claudius* (2).
The

(1) *Ludi foliacei.* (2) *Dion. l. 60.*

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The Games named *Novendiles*, were the same with those funeral Games we have discoursed of, and which were exhibited at the Death of great Men, or of the Emperors. The *Palatine Games*, *Palatini*, were instituted by *Augustus* in Honour of *Julius Caesar*, and got that Name, from the Temple which was upon the *Palatine Mount*, where they were celebrated every Year for eight Days, beginning with the 25th of *December*. Those of the Fishers, *Piscatorii*, were renewed every Year in the Month of *June*, by the Prætor of the City, in Honour of such of the Fishers upon the *Tyber*, whose Gain was carried into the Temple of *Vulcan*, as a Tribute paid to the Dead. The *Plebeian Games* were exhibited in Honour of the People, who had contributed so much to the Extinction of the regal Power. The Pontificals were those exhibited by the Priests at entering on their Office, in Imitation of the *Questors*, whose Games went by the Name of *Ludi-Questorii Romani*, or the *Roman Games* had been instituted by *Tarquin the Elder* (1), in Honour of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*, as we learn from *Cicero* (2). The *Sacerdotal Games*, were those which the People in the Provinces obliged the Priests to present them with. The *Triumphales*, those that were represented upon occasion of some Triumph. The *Votivi* were exhibited in Consequence of some Vow; and those were either public, when it was a public Vow, as was the Case either in public Calamities, or in the Heat of a Battle, or on other momentous Occasions; or private, when some private Person gave a Representation of them. The former were given by the Magistrates in Consequence of an Act of the Senate: We have an Inscription that makes mention of one of these *Votive* and *Public Games*, for the happy Return of *Augustus*. *Ti. Claud. &c. Ludos Votivos pro reditu Imp. Cæs. Divi F. Augusti.*

Ludi Sigillares, were so called upon Account of the little Figures, either of Silver or some other Metal, which they sent to one another in Token of Friendship, and that commonly during the *Saturnalia*. *Ludi Taurii*, were instituted to the Honour of the infernal

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Gods, on Occasion of a Plague, under the Reign of *Tarquin* the Proud, which Plague arose from the exposing of Bulls Flesh to sale.

Lastly, the *Secular Games* were so called not from their being repeated only once in an hundred Years, as is commonly believed; but this Name was given to certain Games that were renewed but seldom, or that were represented but once during the same Persons Life. This is the Idea of them given by *Ovid*:

*Jusserat & Phæbo dici; quo tempore ludos
Fecit, quos ætas aspicit una semel.* Trist. l. 2.

Accordingly their Original, at it is related at very great Length by *Valerius Maximus* (1), and *Zosimus* (2), had no Relation to the Name which they went by afterwards. *Volusius Valerius* says the former of those two Authors, having three Children, two Sons and a Daughter, who were seized by the Plague that wasted the Province where they lived, and finding the Remedies applied by Physicians ineffectual, having addressed himself to the Genius of his Gods *Lares*, heard a Voice enjoining him to carry them to the Banks of the *Tyber*, and to make them drink of the Water of the River. He at first scrupled to obey, considering the Distance he was at from that River; but at last the Malady and the Danger encreasing, he was determined to set out; and having arrived near the *Tyber*, at a Place named *Tarentum*, he gave them drink, and they were cured. In Gratitude to the Gods for so signal a Kindness, he offered Sacrifices of black Victims to *Pluto*, *Proserpine*, and the other infernal Divinities, for three Nights successively. *Valerius Publicola*, continues the same Author (a), who was made Consul when *Tarquin* was banished, believing the *Romans* had more need than ever of the Protection of the Gods, renewed the Sacrifices of *Volusius* in the Year of *Rome* 245, appointed them to be

(1) Lib. ii. c. 4. (2) Lib. 2.

(a) *Primos ludos seculares, ex ætis Regibus post Romam conditam annos 245. Valerius Publicola instituit. Antias apud Censor. de die natzli, c. 17.*

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be offered upon the same Altar and to the same Gods, and added Games to them. In fine, we learn from *Varro*, whose Testimony is cited by *Censorinus* (a), that the *Romans*, affrighted by several Prodigies that happened one after another, having consulted, according to Custom, the Books of the Sibyls, learned that they were to renew the Sacrifices and the Games of *Volusus*, and to celebrate them for the future every hundred Years in the *Campus Martius*: This was the Origin of the secular Games.

To proceed, nothing came up to the Solemnity of these Games. First, Heralds were dispatched thro' all *Italy* to invite every Body to them, as to a Solemnity which they would never see again; and when the Time of their Celebration approached, the Consuls, Decemvirs, and at last the Emperors themselves went into different Temples to offer Sacrifices, and ordered a Distribution to be made to the People of such things as were necessary, that every one might set about the expiating of his Sins; such as Torches, Sulphur, and Bitumen, and none were excepted but the Slaves. The People thus furnished with Materials for the Expiation, flock'd to the Temple of *Diana*, which was upon the *Aventine* Mount, and every one gave his Children Barley, Corn and Beans, to offer the whole in Sacrifice to the Destinies in order to appease them. Then upon Arrival of the first Festival consecrated to *Juno*, three Days and three Nights were employed in offering Victims to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Neptune*, *Vulcan*, *Mars*, *Diana*, *Vesta*, *Venus*, *Hercules*, *Saturn*, to Divinities of the Fountains, and lastly to the *Parcæ*, *Proserpine*, and *Pluto*; and all this at *Tarentum* itself, a Place not far from the *Campus Martius*, where these Games were to be performed.

On the first Night, at the second Hour, the Consuls in the Time of the Republic, and afterwards the Emperors

(a) *Cum multa portenta fierent—& ideo libros Sibyllinos Decemviri adiissent, & Diti Patri, & Proserpinæ ludi Tarentini in campo Martis fierent, & hostiæ furvæ immolarentur; utique ludi centesimo quoque anno fierent.* Varro apud eundem loc. cit.

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perors themselves, accompanied by the Decemvirs who presided at this Solemnity, went to the Banks of the *Tyber*, where they raised three Altars, on which they sacrificed three Lambs; and after sprinkling the Altars with the Blood of those Victims, they ordered the rest of them to be burnt. This Ceremony was illuminated by a great Number of Lamps, and accompanied with singing several Hymns in Honour of the Gods, and terminated by the offering of several black Victims, such as *Volusus* and *Publicola* had formerly offered.

While they were taken up in these religious Functions, Artists erected a Theater, and prepared the Place where the Exercises common to the Games were to be performed; then the next Day in the Morning they went to the Capitol, where after offering a Sacrifice to *Jupiter*, they returned to the Place now mentioned, and began to celebrate the Games in Honour of *Apollo* and *Diana*. The next Day the *Roman* Ladies repaired to the same Capitol to sacrifice to *Juno*: Lastly, the Emperor himself, accompany'd by the Decemvirs, went the same Day and offered to each of the foresaid Divinities the Victims that belonged to them.

On the third Day, seven and twenty Youths of the best Families, all in Robes, and as many Virgins, marched in Procession to the *Palatine* Mount to the Temple of *Apollo*, where they vied with one another in singing Hymns and Songs, to make the Gods propitious to the Emperor, the Senate, and the *Roman* People. Lastly, during the three Days and three Nights that the Solemnity of these Games continued, all the Theaters in *Rome*, the Cirques, and the other public Places destined for these Festivals, were employed in Shows that were therein exhibited. Among other things, there were also hunting Matches, Combats with wild Beasts, Sea-fights, &c. The People divided the whole Time between Mirth and Devotion.

Thus it is that the Games of the *Greeks* and *Romans* were intermixed with Religion, and this is what induced me to give the History of them a Place in this *Mythology*.

The End of the Fourth and Last Volume.

A COMPLEAT
I N D E X
O F

PERSONS and THINGS

Contained in the FOUR VOLUMES of this

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